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CURRENT DISCUSSIONS
IN THEOLOGY.

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CURRENT DISCUSSIONS IN THEOLOGY.

BY
PROFESSORS BOARDMAN, CURTISS
AND SCOTT,

OF CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

VOLUME ONE.
INTRODUCTORY.

CHICAGO:
F. H. REVELL, 148 AND 150 MADISON STREET.
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PREFACE.

THE aim of this work, which is intended as the first of a series, is to aid ministers and theological students in keeping themselves abreast of the thinking and investigations of our times in the various departments of theology. It is proposed to give an annual digest of the most important contributions in exegetical, historical, systematic and practical theology, in a popular yet accurate way.

Such a work, we are persuaded, is much needed by those interested in theological studies, as a source of information, in a cheap and convenient form, and as a stimulus to study. We are not aware that any one volume has ever been issued in the English language with this intent. In Germany an *Encyclopædia of Theological Sciences* has recently been edited by Zöckler, and a *Report of Theological Literature* by Pünjer. The method pursued in our work seeks to combine the advantages of both publications in book form, affording that which is latest, and yet of permanent value, in a convenient handbook for reading or reference.

The present volume, which is mainly the fruit of independent reading and study, is introductory, although forming a complete treatise by itself. It was necessary in order to pursue the subjects sug-

gested with profit to take a general survey of the field, and determine the bearings of theological enquiry.

While it was not convenient in the first issue to give a full and separate treatment of New Testament Studies, and Practical Theology was omitted altogether, yet it is hoped that this book may be of service in advancing the interests of Christ's Kingdom by presenting those issues which should be understood and fairly met.

Should this work meet with sufficient encouragement, subsequent volumes containing essays and a survey of the most important theological literature of each year, may be expected.

GEORGE NYE BOARDMAN,
SAMUEL IVES CURTISS,
HUGH McDONALD SCOTT.

CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
CHICAGO, APRIL 16, 1883.

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EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

PRESENT STATE OF
OLD TESTAMENT STUDIES.

BY

REV. SAMUEL IVES CURTISS,

PROFESSOR OF OLD TESTAMENT EXEGESIS, IN CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY.

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS IN THEOLOGY.

INTRODUCTION.

We are most indebted to Germany for helps in the critical study of the Old Testament. Our lexicons and grammars are either translations of the works of German scholars, or are founded on their investigations. So too our commentaries, so far as they are of scientific value, with but few exceptions, are derived from the same source. We are indebted to England for its noble discoveries, and works which shed so much light upon the Old Testament. All Biblical scholars are under profound obligations for the helps which have been issued in connection with the Palestine Exploration Society, and for the discoveries of the gifted and lamented George Smith (d. 1876). Nor are the contributions of French scholars to be forgotten in works which illustrate the Old Testament. Last, but not least, we mention Holland, which has done more to stimulate inquiry than either England or France, although the works producing this result belong to Kuenen's school, and are of a destructive character.

Our country has contributed least of all to Old Testament studies. Aside from the works of Robinson* and Lynch,† which are still highly valued by Biblical scholars everywhere, we have done very little original scientific work in this department which is of value, as we have had more important duties pressing upon us. The time, however, has come when we should do something toward shedding light upon the Sacred Record by original studies and investigations. It is certain that in the countries we have named there was never greater activity in the study of subjects bearing on the Old Testament than now. Let us consider some branches of scientific research, which are sometimes thought to be in conflict with the Bible.

**Biblical Researches in Palestine*, third edition, Boston, 1868, in three volumes. †*Narrative of the United States' Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, London, 1850.

Merrill's, *East of the Jordan, a Record of Travel and Observation in the Countries of Moab, Gilead and Bashan during the years 1875-1877*, New York, 1881, may also be considered a scientific contribution. Thomson's *Central Palestine and Phœnicia*, and *Southern Palestine and Jerusalem*, New York, 1882, are of great value to the Biblical student.

CHAPTER I.

RELATIONS OF SCIENCE TO THE BIBLICAL RECORD.

1. *Scientific Theories Respecting the Origin of the World, of Man, and of Human Speech.*

There are essentially two schools of theologians with reference to these subjects. Neither maintains that it was the object of the Bible to teach science, history or chronology as such. Yet the one holds that God's word in the Bible cannot contradict his word in nature, and that, although there may be an apparent contradiction, a fuller knowledge will certainly show that any Biblical statements falling within the domain of science, history and chronology, are correct. If scientific research is not in harmony with the Biblical representations, it is so much the worse for it. The other maintains that God's chief purpose in making a revelation to man was, that He might communicate divine truth requisite for salvation. This truth was clad in human forms of speech. Hence we have in the written word, the Scriptures, as well as in the living Word, Jesus Christ, the union of the human and the divine. This union, however, did not remove human infirmity from our Saviour, and it has not removed human infirmity from the Old Testament

Scriptures. They are clearly the product of chosen writers among the Hebrew nation. Did God, while making a revelation of divine truth through them, reveal scientific truth which we are to hold according to the literal reading of the record, or reinterpret with each fresh discovery of science? They answer that the facts are against this supposition, and that the intent of Scripture, as Cardinal Baronius has said, is not to show how the heavens go, but how to go to heaven.

It is undoubtedly easier, from a logical point of view, to defend the doctrine of the inspiration of the Scriptures if we can maintain that they are infallible in their references to science, as well as in their revelation of divine truth. Still if we anathematize those who do not hold this view, and make the authority of Scripture depend upon the absolute correctness of its statements in matters of science, one of two things must result: either people will be entirely indifferent to new discoveries, or they will think that the foundations are shaken when such discoveries are made. If it can be shown, however, on internal grounds, that the Scriptures could not have been the mere product of the human mind, but that they must have had a divine author whatever the scientists and critics may prove, we can at least look with calmness on every new investigation.

There are doubtless two extremes to be avoided here. If the Church is in danger of suffering from taking too high ground, great damage may be done to those who are weak in the faith by making con-

cessions which are unnecessary. A concession should never be made in this sphere until a fact is fully proved.

(1.) COSMOGONY

Within the last decade several works have been prepared bearing on the relation between science and the first chapters of Genesis.* The drift of opinion even among reverent investigators in Germany is that while the Biblical cosmogony transcends every other, it cannot be shown to correspond fully to the latest results of scientific investigation, since the periods which are kept distinct in the first chapter of Genesis seem to be more or less contemporaneous according to the investigations of geologists.

Christian scholars in England and America seem to be more conservative. Dr. Kinns, the author of *The Harmony of the Bible with Science*,† gives the names of some 617 scientific men who at the time of the meeting of the British Association in 1865 signed a manifesto which is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It contains the following declaration: "We conceive that it is impossible for the Word of God, as written in the book of Nature,

*Schmid, *Die Darwinschen Theorie*, Stuttgart, 1876, translated by Dr. Zimmermann, *The Darwinian Theory*, Chicago, 1883; Zoeckler *Theologie und Naturwissenschaft*, 2 vols. Guetersloh, 1877-79; Reusch, *Bibel und Natur*; Pfaff, *Das Alter und Ursprung des Menschengeschlechts*, Frankfurt, 1876; Zart, *Bibel und Naturwissenschaft*, Berlin, 1878; Guettler, *Naturforschung und Bibel in ihrer Stellung zur Schoepfung*, Freiburg, 1877.

Riehm, *Der biblische Schoepfungsbericht*, Halle, 1881.

†Cassell, Peter, Galpin & Co., New York, London and Paris. Second edition, 1882. A third edition has recently appeared.

and God's Word written in Holy Scripture, to contradict one another, however much they may appear to differ.

"We are not forgetful that physical science is not complete, but is only in a condition of progress, and that at present our finite reason enables us only to see as through a glass darkly, and we confidently believe that a time will come when the two records will be seen to agree in every particular."

The writers go on to say that the object of the scientist should be to ascertain the truth, and that if the result of his investigations seems to be contrary to the Scriptures, he should not therefore conclude that they are wrong, but rather that he should allow the statements of science and Scripture to remain side by side until God shall be pleased to reconcile them. The author of the book then proceeds to show that the order of fifteen creative events as taught by science corresponds with that given by Moses.

In America, Dana, Dawson and others, still hold that science is not contradictory to the Bible with regard to the cosmogony.* These authors, of course, hold that the creative days are to be considered as creative periods of indefinite duration—an opinion which was also held by Augustine.†

*Dana, *Manual of Geology*, New York, 1876, pp. 775-770.

Dawson, *The Origin of the World according to Revelation and Science*. New York, 1877.

Winchell, *Reconciliation of Science and Religion*. New York, 1877.

†*De Civitate Dei*, xi.6: "Qui dies cuius modi sint, aut perdifficile nobis aut etiam impossibile est cogitare, quanto magis dicere."

(2.) THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES.

While the tendency of scientific inquiry in regard to the origin of species is favorable to evolution, and the new theory naturally finds many enthusiastic adherents, yet it cannot be regarded as fully established.‡

There are German§, English, and American theologians who accept it, and who find it consistent with the representations of Scripture. They consider that God is no less a creator when working through secondary causes than if he had directly created each species by an individual act.* It must be admitted, however, that there is much in this theory which is hypothetical; and it is certain that the bridge between man and the highest apes has not yet been found.† In any case the origin of man with a soul

‡Huxley, *On the Origin of Species*, New York, 1881, pp. 144-145, says: "But you must recollect that when I say I think it is either Mr. Darwin's hypothesis or nothing; that either we must take his view or look upon the whole of organic nature as an enigma, the meaning of which is hidden from us, you must understand that I mean that I accept it provisionally, in exactly the same way that I accept any other hypothesis."

§See Dorner, *Jahrbuecher fuer Deutsche Theologie*. Gotha, 1874, pp. 556-571.

Schmid, *The Theories of Darwin*. Chicago, 1883, pp. 312-321.

*Compare Mivart, *On the Genesis of Species*, London and New York, 1871, pp. 279, ff.

Gray, *Darwiniana*, New York, 1878, pp. 252, ff.

†Haeckel, *Natuerliche Schoepfungsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1875, p. 571, gives a genealogical table of apes, including men, and mentions among them *speechless men*, but he says distinctly (p. 577), "*that not a single one of all the apes now living, and hence not one of the so-called human apes, can be the progenitor of the human race. . . . The progenitors of the human race, belonging to the ape species, died out long ago. Perhaps we shall find their petrified bones at some future time in the tertiary formation of Southern Asia or Africa.*"

Compare Huxley, *Evidence as to Man's Place in Nature*, New York, 1882, pp. 183-184.

is beyond the scientist, who, in his effort to materialize the immaterial, tends to brutalize the masses. The attitude of leading theologians toward the doctrine of evolution may be characterized as one of observation, and as highly conservative.

(3.) THE UNITY OF THE RACE.

Are the results of science here in conflict with the Book of Genesis? Dr. McCausland, in his *Adam and the Adamite, or the Harmony of Scripture and Ethnology*,[†] affirms that geology, history, language, and ethnology go to show that there must have been men on the earth long before the time of Adam. Hence he claims that the account given in Genesis relates to the creation of a later man, Adam, who is the progenitor of the Caucasian race, the missionary race, the race of civilization. The Negro and Mongolian in his view existed on the earth long before. Cain intermarried with a Mongolian woman, gathered members of that people together in a city which he built, and became the progenitor of the Chinese.* He maintains that we must hold such a view, or, with Prichard, Bunsen, and many others, give up the usual chronology gathered from the Bible.

Dr. Winchell, in his work on the *Preadamites*,[†] says that the world and its inhabitants must be vastly more than six thousand years old, and shows that, according to the usual chronology, all divergences

[†]London, Richard Bently and Son, fifth edition, 1882.

**Ibid*, p. 198.

[†]Chicago, 1881.

of race must have originated with Noah 2,500 or 3,000 years B. C., and reaches the conclusion, from pictures on Egyptian monuments and from other evidence, that the Negro must be traced back even earlier than the flood.* He argues, therefore, that it is impossible that such distinct types as the Negro, the Mongolian, etc., should have arisen from Noah; nay, even he regards them as preadamitic races. The scientists are not yet agreed as to the question of unity or plurality of origin. But it would seem as though we should either be compelled to reject the Biblical chronology or assume that the marked differences which we find in the different races have been fixed by supernatural power—a supposition which almost condemns itself. But while the scientists are not agreed among themselves, we have no occasion for accepting the theory of Preadamites, and it would seem to be far safer to give up the customary chronology† than to assume a plurality in the origin of mankind.

(4.) HUMAN SPEECH.

We read in the Old Testament that all the earth was one lip and one speech‡ when they undertook to build the tower of Babel, and that God, with the

**Ibid.*, p. 219.

†Canon Rawlinson, however, is quoted by Dawson, *The Origin of the World*, p. 390, as saying, with reference to postdiluvian man, that "there is a remarkable convergence of all historic dates toward a time between 2,000 to 3,000 years B. C., or about the date of the Biblical deluge, which may be reasonably inferred to have occurred 3,200 B. C."

Cf. Rawlinson's *Origin of Nations*, New York, 1881.

‡Gen. xi. 1

intention of scattering them abroad, confounded their lip so that they could not understand one another.

Is there anything in this account which is contradicted by science?

The effort has been made to show the relationship of the principal languages, for instance that which is said to subsist between the Semitic and the Indo-European group of languages. The best thing written on the subject is a work by Friedrich Delitzsch on the Relation of Roots,* in which, after eliminating many roots which were once reckoned as cognate, but which are simply onomatopoeic,† he sought to establish a relationship between the two groups of languages, but it is understood that he no longer holds this theory. Sayce, in a recent work,§ affirms that the “attempt made in the infancy of linguistic science to reduce these groups [of languages] to a mystical triad has long since been abandoned by the scientific student, and that the number of separate families of speech now existing in the world which cannot be connected with one another is at least seventy-five.” From this he argues that the unity in language was “not in the Paradise of Genesis, but [will be] in the unifying tendencies of trade and civilization.”

**Studien ueber Indogermanisch-Semitische Wurzelverwandtschaft*, Leipzig, 1873.

†The Shemite, the Indo-European, or any representative of the different languages, makes essentially the same sounds when he laughs or cries.

§*Introduction to the Science of Language*, in two volumes, C. Kegan Paul & Co., London, 1880. Cf. McCurdy, *Aryo-Semitic Speech*.

It may perhaps excite the derision of scholars, that we should see no contradiction between the established positions of science with regard to the origin of language, and the account given in Genesis, for the narrative affords no reason for supposing that we should be able to trace a greater relationship between languages than we are now in a position to do. But the conclusion of the scientists is doubtless true that these languages point back to a remote antiquity.

2. *Ancient Traditions which Illustrate the Opening Chapters of Genesis.*

For centuries it has been an interesting question to determine how far the Scriptures have derived their facts and doctrines from other literatures.*

*Brugsch, *Histoire d' Egypte*, p. 17, is quoted by Rawlinson, *History of ancient Egypt*, vol. 1, p. 108, as saying: "The forty-two laws of the Egyptian religion contained in the 125th chapter of the Book of the Dead fall short in nothing of the teachings of Christianity. [Moses in compiling his code of laws, did but] translate into Hebrew the religious precepts which he found in the various religious books [of the people among whom he had been brought up]." Compare, Brugsch, *The True Story of the Exodus of Israel*, pp. 255-56: "I have not privily done evil against mankind. I have not told falsehoods. I have not done what is hateful to the gods. I have not murdered. I have not smitten men privily. I have not stolen. I have not been idle. I have not committed adultery. I have not corrupted women or men. I have not polluted myself. I have not blasphemed a god. I have not falsified measures. I have not cheated in the weight of the balance. I have given food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothes to the naked." This quotation shows clearly enough that Brugsch's assertion is an extravagant exaggeration. There is, to be sure, evidence that the law written upon the hearts of men (Rom. ii, 15) and that upon the two tables of stone are by the same divine author. These utterances indicate conclusively that the Egyptians were without excuse, for Rawlinson [*ibid.*] says: "With this profound knowledge of what was right so much beyond that of most heathen nations, the practice of the people was rather below than above the common level, the men practiced impurity openly and boasted of it in their writings." The idea that Moses' Law is but a compilation of religious precepts from the social books of the Egyptians is absurd.

On the one hand infidels have sought to cast the Bible down from its unique position by showing that it is merely the residuum of human thoughts, a survival, perhaps, of the fittest. While christians have maintained that such correspondences have flowed from the Scriptures themselves or from an original revelation.

This subject has a new interest, not only because the Egyptian and Persian literatures are better understood, but also on account of the numerous parallels which have been found between inscriptions on old Assyrian tablets and the first chapters of Genesis. And the matter has been brought into special prominence by some works which have recently appeared.

These parallels are most completely set forth in Lenormant's *Beginnings of History*, in which he classifies the various traditions which illustrate the first chapters in Genesis. The parallels between the inscriptions on the Assyrian tablets and these accounts are most remarkable, including an account of the creation during six days which even corresponds in particulars to the Biblical account; also a reference to the Sabbath on which no work may be done, and an account of the deluge, which is most complete of all the traditions and in many particulars similar to the Biblical account. It is still very uncertain whether the Babylonians had any narrative of the fall, although some Assyriologists think they have found indications of such a tradition in a picture on a cylinder. This, however, is disputed by other scholars of equal weight, although there

seems to be a general expectation, that a tablet containing this tradition will yet be found.*

The question as to the priority of these accounts has been answered by Assyriologists differently. Friedrich Delitzsch and Haupt maintain that they were adopted by the Jews after the Babylonian Exile.† But entirely aside from the objections which the most radical Biblical critics know how to urge against this theory,‡ it is most improbable that the Jews should have borrowed these traditions from their heathen conquerors and should have placed them at the very beginning of their literature, which in their Babylonian form are saturated with polytheistic elements. While Sayce maintains that the present account of the creation is of late Assyrian origin,|| although it may rest on older traditions, that of the flood dates back to at least two thousand years before Christ. Hence another theory may be true, that Abraham brought these traditions with him from his ancestral home in Ur of the Chaldees, and that they were clarified by the Spirit of God from their polytheistic elements.

*Compare my article in the July number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Andover, 1883.

†Delitzsch, *Wo Lag Das Paradies?* Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1881, pp. 93-94. Haupt, *Der Keilinschriftliche Sintfluthbericht*, same firm, Leipzig, 1881, p. 20.

‡They all agree on irrefragable scientific grounds that the so-called Jehovistic Document, in which these traditions occur, was written long before the Exile, so the argument of the Assyriologists that these accounts were derived from the Assyrian traditions after the Exile, by the Jehovist as well as by the Elohist, proves too much.

||He says in Smith's *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, New York, 1880(?), p. 10, that in its present form it is probably not older than the 7th century B. C.

It must be remembered, however, that the department of Assyriology is still young, and that there is confessedly much uncertainty about the correct translation of these tablets, in their mutilated condition,* especially of that respecting the creation, and it is perhaps more likely that they have flowed from a common source than that the Biblical accounts have been derived from the Assyrian traditions. In any case the superintendence of the Divine Spirit is clearly evinced in the opening pages of Genesis, which rise in simple grandeur above the Babylonian traditions with their polytheistic accessories.†

3. *Chronology.*

From the very conditions of the case there is no subject which presents greater difficulties than that of chronology, and, as is well known, the estimates founded on the dates given in the Old Testament afford no exceptions. Recent investigations instead of shedding light on the subject have only contributed to involve it in obscurity. As has already been intimated, scientific investigations in the departments of geology, ethnology, philology and history, have all resulted in demanding a much longer chronology than we deduce from the Old Testament. Besides, a new element has come in

*Compare Smith's *Chaldean Genesis*, pp. ix, 8.

†The same remark may be made in regard to other passages in heathen writings which resemble those in the Bible, where the heathen writings are primary. In the story of Krishna the resemblances seem to have flowed from a christian source; see my treatise, *The Date of Our Gospels in the Light of the Latest Criticism*, Chicago, 1881, pp. 29-33.

through a comparison of the Assyrian with the Biblical chronology, which first synchronize in the year 722 B. C. The result is that such scholars as Professor Franz Delitzsch are still shy about using the earlier dates. It is certain that the subject requires a great deal of study, and it is doubtful whether complete satisfaction will be secured. It must be remembered, too, that the earlier Assyrian chronology with which the Biblical is in disagreement is by no means infallible.

4. *The Relation of the Ancient Peoples of Civilization to the Origin of the Hebrew Nation.*

Assyria, Egypt, and Phœnicia are the most important human factors in the origin of the Hebrew nation, of its language, and literature. Recent investigations have greatly increased our information with reference to the literary character of these peoples.

Assyria, which is known to have had a written literature 2000 B. C., is connected with Israel as the cradle of the holy family. Abraham was born in Ur of the Chaldees, which is identified by some of the best authorities with Mugheir, one hundred and thirty miles southeast of Babylon. We do not mean to imply by this that Abraham had any acquaintance with the written memorials of Assyria, but the fact that the nation among whom he lived had a literature at that time is of great importance in determining whether the Biblical representation, that the Hebrew literature began with Moses, is credible or not.

The Phœnicians, who were the great commercial people of antiquity,* according to a credible tradition, had lived almost on the borders of Assyria, for their home before they removed to Canaan was on the shores of the Persian Gulf.† We learn from ancient monuments that they came into contact with Egypt,‡ which also possessed a literature at that time. While we cannot prove, in the absence of ancient inscriptions, that they were then possessed of the art of writing, yet it is most probable. For there seems to be no little reason for believing that while the Phœnicians derived their language from Assyria, they derived their letters from Egypt. We cannot well believe, therefore, that such a highly civilized commercial people could have come into connection with Assyria and Egypt, which already had the art of writing without acquiring it, if they had not had it before. It is not improbable that Abraham on entering Canaan came among the Phœnicians, and that he and his sons sojourned among them many years. Since the language which the Hebrews used was essentially the Phœnician, even including their letters, we have reason to believe that the patriarchs adopted this language before they went down into Egypt. Whether they learned to write we do not know, for Judah's seal ring (Gen. xxxviii. 18) does not furnish sufficient data. We know, however, that Egypt, which had

*Movers, *Die Phœnizier*, vol. ii., part 3. Berlin, 1856.

†Herodotus, *Lib.* vii. 89, cf. Movers, *Die Phœnizier*, vol. i., Bonn, 1844, p. 4.

‡Brugsch, *History of Egypt Under the Pharaohs*, London, 1879, vol. i, pp. 221-225.

a literature at that time, was the cradle of the holy nation. Now when we consider that Israel's pathway until it became a nation probably lay through the territory of Assyria, Phœnicia and Egypt, it seems most credible that Hebrew literature began in the time of Moses, who is said to have been learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians (Acts vii.22).

5. *Geographical Researches.*

The last ten years have been especially fruitful in contributions to a better knowledge of the geography of Sinai and Palestine. The need of a careful survey of the Holy Land was especially felt by one of the English editors of Smith's Bible Dictionary, Mr. George Grove, the preparation of certain articles for that valuable work having convinced the writers how little was definitely known about the geography of that country. Accordingly an English society called the Palestine Exploration Fund was formed in 1865. It has accomplished much that is valuable in connection with the excavations in Jerusalem, and has surveyed the entire western area of the Holy Land. Out of six hundred and twenty-two Biblical names in Western Palestine, four hundred and thirty-four have been identified with a good degree of certainty, and one hundred and seventy-two of these have been discovered by the English surveyors.* The American Palestine Exploration Society, which was established in 1871, and which undertook to survey the country on the east side of the Jordan, has identified about one

*Merrill, *East of the Jordan*. New York, 1881, p. 530.

hundred of the two hundred and forty names. The Germans also formed a society in 1878, which publishes a journal and is doing useful work.

Recently a destructive British critic, who considers the Pentateuch as largely made up of untrustworthy myths, has published a volume,* in which he attempts to prove that the Israelites pursued a much shorter route than that which they are represented to have taken, and in which he identifies Mount Sinai with Mount Hor in the land of Edom. It is refreshing to turn from such a book, which treats the Old Testament with open contempt, to the careful treatises of the lamented Professor Palmer,† late of Cambridge, and of Ebers,‡ professor in Leipzig.

Professor Palmer was a member of the Sinai Survey Expedition. The work was done under the sanction of the English government, and with all needful resources at command. "The objects of the survey . . . were to identify, if possible, the sites mentioned in the Mosaic narrative."§ It was also expected to demonstrate the general capabilities of the country for the passage of Israel, and to determine which was the true Sinai. The results were, in the words of Palmer: "We cannot, perhaps, ever hope to identify all the stations and localities mentioned in the Bible account of the Exodus, but enough has been recovered to enable us to trace the more important lines of march, and to follow the

*Greene, *The Hebrew Migration from Egypt*. London, Truebner & Co., 1883.

†*The Desert of the Exodus*. New York, 1872.

‡*Durch Gosen zum Sinai*. Leipzig, 1872.

§Palmer, p. 19.

Israelites in their several journeys from Egypt to Sinai, from Sinai to Kadesh, and from Kadesh to the Promised Land."* Furthermore, it was proved that the wilderness was capable of sustaining a much larger population than the six thousand Arabs which it now supports, and Jebel Musa was fixed upon as the true Sinai.

Ebers in his book, which gives a record of his journey to Sinai, while writing from a free standpoint, says that Moses was as real an individual as Cyrus, that the Exodus happened under the weak Merneptah, that the death of the first born finds illustration in the death of Merneptah's son, who was called by the same name, and affirms that the list of the places is in the main historical.

While the results of geographical research have not been as fruitful as was hoped, yet they have done very much to shed light upon the Sacred Text.

We pass now to consider those subjects which by common consent in Germany belong to the department of Old Testament Theology in the widest sense.

**Ibid.* p. 434.

CHAPTER II.

CRITICAL PREREQUISITES FOR OLD TESTAMENT EXEGESIS.

The correct interpretation of the text in the light of grammar, lexicon, and history, lies at the very foundation of Old Testament study. It is the merit of the present generation of critics, without regard to theological prepossessions, that they insist upon what is called the historico-critical method as the only true way of determining the actual meaning of Scripture. Grammar and lexicon are not magic wands by which the interpreter may conjure from the Sacred Text such forms as he may please, or as he may think the exigencies of a doctrine or a theory may require. They are simply helps to place one in the age when the words were spoken or written, and to enable him to understand, so far as possible, the intent of the speaker, and the impression which was made on the hearers. It is doubtless true that the Holy Spirit often did not reveal the deep spiritual import of the words uttered to the speaker, but it is not the duty of the interpreter to read a New Testament meaning into an Old Testament text. He is like a surveyor in the Holy Land, whose business is first to settle the situation of every acre of ground in that country. He may have preconceived notions of

what the map ought to be, but if he is an accurate surveyor he will not vary a hair's breadth for these. He will first be in a position to identify the ancient places in the light of the Scriptures when the survey is complete. It is, indeed, legitimate for the Old Testament interpreter to view his work in New Testament light, but his exegesis of a passage should be purely critical and scientific. At the same time the evangelical investigator will never occupy an attitude of cold indifference in respect to his investigation, but will be deeply interested in the result. This historico-critical method should not be confounded with rationalism, for the old rationalistic exegesis of a Paulus often sets at defiance the grammatical, lexical and historical significance of the passage. The only difference between the rationalistic and the orthodox interpreters, so far as their method was concerned, was in name, they both brought the Scriptures to the Procrustean bed of a theory. Of course there is a heaven-wide difference between a denial and an acceptance of the supernatural, but none essentially in the method.

The historico-critical method is not to be condemned because it is the invention of negative critics, and has been turned against the Scriptures. Its use is just as legitimate in God's providence as that of the best grammars and lexicons which our age has produced. It, as well as they, is a product of human progress, and may be just as legitimately set apart for the Master's service.

There was a time when, under the stress of some great controversy, it was sufficient for a minister to

wipe the dust from his long-neglected Hebrew Bible, and with much labor assure himself from "the original" that the meaning which he had been taught to associate with the verse was the correct one. Such casual study of the text is almost worse than useless, because it fosters the belief that one has reached the true sense of the passage.

The knowledge of Hebrew which our ministers require is something more than the senseless and painful enunciation of words which convey no meaning to the eye, and the ability, with the help of good King James, to ride over the vasty deep. A knowledge by which one is repelled, and which is forgotten as soon as possible, is not a knowledge worth having, and it might be well, if we can secure nothing better, to adopt the maxim in this case which is attributed to the famous philologist Ritschl: *Entweder ordentlich oder gar nicht*, "either accurately or not at all."

There are, however, indications of progress.* The Hebrew, aside from its strange characters, and the fact that it is not cognate with any of the languages which are usually studied, is not a difficult language to master, and certainly can be learned as easily as any other foreign tongue under proper instruction. Nothing less, however, should be aimed at than

* Decided advance has been made in some of our seminaries during the past few years in the study of Hebrew, and it is to be doubted whether any age or country has witnessed greater energy and enthusiasm in interesting ministers and students, in the study of Hebrew, than have been displayed by Professor Harper, of the Baptist Union Theological Seminary at Morgan Park, Chicago. Certainly it is without a parallel, that more than four hundred persons should be endeavoring to gain a knowledge of Hebrew by correspondence at one time.

familiarity with the vocabulary and the grammar, and the student should be able to read the easier historical portions at sight. Nor is it sufficient to have a good grammar in the library. The leading principles of syntax should be so familiar that they would occur to the student in ordinary reading.

Whatever may be the method pursued, so long as students have no knowledge of Hebrew previous to entering the seminary, a large part of the time, during the first year, needs to be devoted to this study, in order to secure good results.

When the student has had a thorough training in the structure of the language, and it has ceased to be a drudgery to read it, he has one of the most important prerequisites not only for understanding the teaching of the Old Testament, but also for weighing those critical questions with which our time is rife.

CHAPTER III.

OLD TESTAMENT INTRODUCTION.

1. *The Pentateuch.*

Although the name Introduction was coined about thirteen hundred years ago, the science itself has existed only about two centuries, being first introduced by Richard Simon. The name has often been criticised as indefinite, but almost any designation would require limitation and explanation. Introduction is usually understood to treat of the origin of the individual books, their collection into the Canon, and the history of the transmission of the text. That which treats of the origin of the individual books is called Special Introduction, while that which treats of the Canon and the text is termed General Introduction.*

The order of books in the Hebrew Canon is quite different from our own, which essentially follows the Vulgate.†

*On the whole the best and most complete Old Testament Introduction is that of Kell, published by T. and T. Clark, Edinburg, 1871, in two volumes. It does not however treat of the latest critical questions and there is no Introduction in the English language that does.

†The Alexandrine version varies from the Vulgate in the order and arrangement of the Minor Prophets, which precede the Major. Daniel stands last in this version.

The Hebrews reckoned twenty-two books, which were divided into three divisions, the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings.

The science of Introduction owes its origin to the attacks of critics. They were not all enemies of the Scriptures, but many of them were men of sincere piety and devotion to the truth. The first division of the Old Testament has attracted special attention, and now more interest is centered in it than in any other portion.

I. DIFFICULTIES OF THE INVESTIGATION.

It is difficult to explain clearly, within the limits of a brief sketch, how Pentateuch criticism has arisen. The subject is attended with embarrassment, because it is not thoroughly understood, and because the results are sometimes considered a foregone conclusion. The discussion is dangerous, because, on account of its scientific character, some may find in the results a stumbling-block. It is painful, because certain utterances are thought by brethren beloved to be harmful, and the authors are more or less held up in religious prints for the reprobation of the Church.

Criticism should undoubtedly be cautious so far as men of evangelical spirit engage in it, and those who are wantonly reckless, and who love to shock their more conservative brethren, may expect, and should receive rebuke. Whether the science of exact Biblical criticism is of profit to the Church at all times may well be doubted, but if God causes the wrath of man to praise Him, we must believe that

He is in the storm as well as in the zephyr, and that the tempest shock is to lead us to hide more completely in Him; that our faith may stand in the spirit rather than in the letter.

Now, one of two things is certain: either we must leave the exact scientific criticism of the Scriptures to the enemies of evangelical religion, and content ourselves with a system of apologetics which denies all those facts which do not square with our preconceived theories, or we must ourselves unflinchingly pursue our investigations on scientific principles. We have a right to presuppose a divine factor in the Israelitish history and literature, and we are no more biased with such a presupposition than the negative critics are when they exclude all supernatural elements from the Sacred Records.

It must be remembered that on the whole Pentateuch criticism has neither originated, nor been carried on in a spirit of levity and wantonness.

There are critics who are flippant, and who shock the sensibilities of the Church by their profane handling of the sheet-anchor of her hopes and comforts, but they are in the minority. It would be a base calumny to affirm either of the devout and conscientious Spinoza,* (d. 1677) who would not sell himself for any advantage, or of Richard Simon,† (d. 1712) or of Astruc‡ (d. 1766) who waited many years until he was persuaded that his views would

*His views as to the Pentateuch are contained in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus, Opera*, vol. i, Ienae, 1802, pp. 156 ff.

†See *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament*, Amsterdam, 1685, p. 17 ff.

‡Compare Herzog and Plitt. *Real-Encyklopaedie*, vol. i., Leipzig, 1877, pp. 725 ff.

not be harmful, before publishing them, that the first and last denied the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and that Astruc resolved Genesis into different documents although maintaining the Mosaic authorship, from a settled enmity to true religion. It must be conceded that they were men of profound scholarship and deep convictions. Nor may we speak contemptuously of Geddes§ (d. 1802) the celebrated Roman Catholic Biblical scholar, the first Romanist who was honored by the University of Aberdeen with the degree of Doctor of Laws; nor of Vater,** (d. 1826) nor of the profound, many-sided and brilliant DeWette†† (d. 1849) although the two last were trained under rationalistic influences, and were evidently affected by the fragmentary hypothesis of Wolf (d. 1824) respecting Homer. Nor can we call the theories of a George,* a Von Bohlen,† and a Vatke‡ (d. 1882) by whom the views of the present school of critics were foreshadowed, mere vagaries, although Vatke was a pronounced Hegelian. We may ridicule Ewald's§ (d. 1875) division of the Pentateuch into seven different documents, and may smile at his regnant air, and yet we must concede that he was a king among Hebrew scholars. We may have many exceptions to take to the spirit

§See the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. x, New York, 1879, pp. 127 ff.

***Commentar ueber den Pentateuch*, three parts, Halle, 1803-1805.

††*Beitraege Zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament* 2 vols., Halle, 1806-1807.

**Die aelteren Juedischen Feste*, Berlin, 1835.

†*Die Genesis*, Koenigsberg, 1835.

‡*Die Religion des Alten Testaments*, Berlin, 1835.

§*Einleitung in Die Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Goettingen, 1864.

and manner of a Graf,** (d. 1869) a Kuenen†† and a Wellhausen,‡‡ (b. 1844) not to mention many others. We may say that Delitzsch, §§ (b. 1813) who belongs to a coterie of most orthodox Lutherans, has made too great concessions under the influence of others. But we cannot dismiss all these learned men with a contemptuous wave of the hand, or with a vulgar fling.

It is not a fair statement of the case, when we ridicule the number of theories which the different schools have produced. They have been substantially agreed in two things: (1) from first to last they have maintained with only the exception mentioned [Astruc] that Moses could not have been the author of the entire Pentateuch as we now have it; and (2) they have agreed, so far as they have made an analysis, that there were at least three different sources from which the Pentateuch was derived: and their analysis has agreed in the main, although there are divergencies with respect to the details.*

***Die Geschichtlichen Buecher des Alten Testaments*, Leipzig, 1866.

††*The Religion of Israel*, 3 vols., Williams and Norgate, London, 1874-76.

‡‡*Die Composition des Hexateuchs in Jahrbuecher fuer Deutsche Theologie*, Gotha, 1876, pp. 392-450; 531-602; 1877, pp. 407-479; and *Geschichte Israels*, Berlin, 1878.

§§See his views in *The Hebrew Student*, Chicago, April-July, 1882, and in the *Presbyterian Review*, New York, July, 1882, pp. 553-580.

*The following table which appeared in *The Presbyterian Review* for July, 1882, p. 561, may be convenient for the student:

I. THE ELOHIM DOCUMENT, formerly considered the oldest, now the young- est part of the Penta- teuch, except the sec- ond Elohist.	{	Elohist (Bleek, Kayser, and others).
		Original Writing (Hupfeld, DeWette).
		Fundamental Writing (Tuch Noeldeke, Riehm).
		Book of Origins (Ewald).
		Annalist (Schrader).
		A. (H. Schultz, Dillmann).
		Q. (quatuor, book of four covenants, Wellhausen.)
		B. (Second, or older Elohist, Dillmann).
		E. (Second Elohist, Wellhausen).

2. THEORIES OF THE CRITICS.

We now pass to make a very brief statement as to the *consensus* of the critics with regard to the Pentateuch, which they extend to a Hexateuch by including the Book of Joshua.

1. As we have said, they are agreed that there are at least three streams appearing in the Hexateuch. The reason for distinguishing two main documents in Genesis is on account of the use of the name Elohim for God in one set of passages, and Jehovah for Lord in another. It might seem that this would be a very insufficient reason for maintaining that the narrative is made up of these two different elements, for we find an interchange of these names in other parts of the Old Testament. But the critics point out that in Genesis the name Elohim is associated with a class of narratives differing in style, method and thought, from those in which the name Jehovah occurs. The critics now distinguish the Elohist (Elohim, *i.e.* God) writer as belonging to the priestly class, and as fond of exact

II. THE JEHOVAH DOCUMENT.

{ *Jehovist* (Hupfeld, Knobel, Vaihinger, Kayser).
Supplementer (Bleek, Staehelin, Tuch).
Fourth Narrator (Ewald).
Prophetic Narrator (Schrader).
B. (H. Schultz). *C.* (Dillmann).
J. (Wellhausen).

We have also instead of the name Elohist, other designations, as: the Priests' Code, the Levitical Code, the Middle Books of the Pentateuch, where especial attention is called to the legislative character. The work indicated by Wellhausen as Q embodied excerpts from J E (Jehovist and Second Elohist). The so-called Priests' Code arose from a gradual expansion of this work among the priests. Besides, the author of Deuteronomy is called the Deuteronomiker, and an editor who exhibits the same peculiarities, and whose moulding hand is seen here and there throughout the entire Pentateuch, is called in distinction from him the Deuteronomist.

details, such as numbers and chronology. On the other hand, the Jehovist, as they affirm (Jehovah, *i.e.* Lord), belongs to the prophets. While possessing a beauty of style running out into pleasing narratives, he combines a deep spiritual insight into the nature and origin of sin, as well as into Israel's relation to the world as the medium of salvation. Besides they point out parallel narratives—for example, of the creation, the flood, etc. These narratives are marked by the systematic recurrence of the names Jehovah and Elohim until Ex., vi. 3; after that point the different writers are indicated by peculiarities of style extending through Joshua, with the exception of the Deuteronomiker who is the author of Deuteronomy, and who has left his mark in connection with the other two writers on the Book of Joshua.

2. The question now arises as to the relationship of these different parts. There have been in the main three hypotheses: (1), that the Pentateuch was made up of *fragments*; (2), that the original document was the Elohist, which was *supplemented* by the Jehovist; (3), the Pentateuch was collated from different *documents* by a final editor. This last view, however, has been modified by those who think that the Pentateuch is the gradual deposit which has arisen through the literary activity of prophets, priests and scribes, so that historical works in whole or in part have been gradually united by various editors and compilers.

3. With reference to the relative age of the documents there is by no means unanimity. Astruc, the

originator of the theory, maintained that twelve different documents were used by Moses in the composition of Genesis. Delitzsch held, ten years ago, that while Moses was the author of Deuteronomy, some one like Joshua may have been the Jehovist, and Eleazar the Elohist. It may, however, be safe to say that the negative critics maintain that the Jehovistic document arose between the ninth and eighth centuries before Christ, Deuteronomy in the year 621 B. C., and that the Elohist document was post-exilic, the Pentateuch first becoming canonical in the year 444 B. C.

It will be perceived that the latest criticism exactly reverses the relationship between the Jehovistic and the Elohist documents. Until the time of Graf (1866), with the exception of some writings* in the years 1833-1835, the Elohist writer was regarded as unquestionably older than the Jehovist. But Graf, Kuenen, and Wellhausen, especially the latter, have succeeded very generally in leading critics to believe that the Jehovist was the oldest writer.

The theory really illustrates the doctrine of development. We give the following examples: (1.) The worship of one God is the last stage in a progress which may be marked by three words—fetishism, polytheism, monotheism. (2.) According to the Jehovist God may be worshipped anywhere; according to the Deuteronomist He must be worshipped in Jerusalem; according to the Elohist it is a matter of course that He will be worshipped

*p. 29,

there. (3.) Sacrifices are represented by the Jehovist, and even the Deuteronomist, as simply festive meals, in which God is recognized as the bountiful giver, but according to the Elohist they involve more or less distinctly the need of atonement. (4.) The Jehovist (eighth century B. C.) knows no priests—the young men may officiate; Deuteronomy (621 B. C.) tells of a guild, the priestly tribe of Levi—any Levite may perform priestly functions; Ezekiel's law (570 B. C., Ezek. xl-xlviii) degrades all the Levites from the priesthood except the sons of Zadok; the Priest's code (Elohist, 444 B. C.) presents a fully developed hierarchy, in which the sons of Aaron alone can perform the functions of priests, and in which the Levites are subordinated to them.

Furthermore, the critics consider it unreasonable to suppose that all the laws for Israel should have been given from God by Moses at the very beginning of the nation. They stoutly maintain that they must have grown up gradually, according to the needs of the people, and that in assigning them to Moses there was not necessarily any intentional deception, but as tradition in the time of Christ assigned an unwritten law to Moses, so tradition at an earlier period ceased to distinguish between statutes which may have been his originally and those of a later date.

We have already spoken of the prophetic (Jehovistic) and priestly (Elohistic) writings* found in the Pentateuch. The critics still further strengthen their

*pp. 30-31,

position by dividing the historical books of the Old Testament between the prophetic and the priestly writers. As is known to Hebrew scholars, the books from Joshua to Kings inclusive, are called Former Prophets, and it is undoubtedly true that they were written by prophets; they contain comparatively few allusions to the priestly functions described in the Middle Books of the Pentateuch, although there are many references to the Jehovist and Deuteronomist. On the other hand, the Books of Chronicles, which relate a parallel history, abound in references to the Priestly Code; indeed, we must conclude that they were written at least by a Levite.

Then the critics affirm that there is an antagonism between the prophets and the priests which could never have existed if the law of Moses had been known and recognized when Hosea and Amos wrote.

It is exceedingly hard to meet them on their own ground, for they not only exclude the priestly portions of Joshua, but also what they term priestly glosses from passages which one might quote from Samuel and Kings, and remand Joel, who exhibits priestly elements, to a post-exilic age, contrary to the dicta even of many negative critics.

The man is yet to arise who can shed full light on these questions, although we doubt whether they ever can be satisfactorily solved by scholars. There is, however, a growing tendency, in Germany, toward conservative views. Neither students, ministers, nor churches can be fed on negations. Hence we find some of the younger Old Testament theologians occupying a conservative position in com-

parison with the negative critics, but it is not the conservatism of a Hengstenberg or a Keil. It maintains that the Pentateuch goes back to Moses, and that he is the author of certain portions, but it ceases to defend the authorship of the whole, as we now have it, by Moses.*

It seems pretty clear that negative criticism, with respect to the Pentateuch, has reached its extreme limit, and we may confidently look for a rebound, and need not fear the result.

3. REJECTION OF THE MODERN CRITICAL THEORY.†

Turning now to the modern critical theory with reference to the origin and composition of the Pentateuch, as set forth by Graf, Kuenen, Wellhausen, and others, *we cannot accept it* for the following reasons:

(1.) Before beginning any investigation, it banishes the Divine factor from history. The Old Testament, according to these critics, simply illustrates the principle of evolution; and the results that we see in the religious laws and institutions are merely products of the human spirit.

(2.) It reduces many of the records to pious frauds. Such an assumption is a necessary outcome of the critics' premises. Even if we were to allow for the natural development of the code among the priests, and their belief that the laws were of Mosaic

* See Delitzsch *On the Pentateuch*, in the *Hebrew Student*, for April-July 1882; and the *Presbyterian Review*, July 1882, Pp. 553—580, etc.

† These paragraphs are taken from my article just cited, in *The Presbyterian Review*.

origin, and the historical drapery is such, and there is such a minuteness of details that we must suppose either that we have the truth or a fabrication.

(3.) We reject the modern critical theory concerning the origin of the Pentateuch, because it leaves the most important periods of Israel's history without a literature. We have good reason for supposing that the Israelites were acquainted with the art of writing at the very latest during the sojourn in Egypt. But, according to the theory of the critics, Israel's literature first began with the prophets of the eighth century. Moses left no memorials, unless it be the commandments, David no psalms, Solomon no proverbs. What a strange jugglery of chance is this that the epoch-making men had nothing to do with the epoch-making literature!

(4.) We reject the conclusions of the modern critical school, because their dicta are not established. They do not rest on scientific certainty, but rather on hypotheses.

What, then, should be our attitude toward the facts presented by the critics?

4. OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE FACTS.

While we do not accept the conclusions of the critics with regard to the origin of the Pentateuch, we have no right to reject the facts which they present, so far as they are established. There are certain phenomena which we should try to account for, and they will, perhaps, modify the traditional view as to origin and course of Old Testament history. The two most important are the apparent neglect of

the written law by the prophets and the authors of the earlier literature, and the differences in the legislation. Both, as it seems to us, have been exaggerated. But still they must be recognized.

1. The Priestly Code was neglected in many of its provisions from the time of the judges until after the Exile.

The critics consider the fact of such a neglect an evidence that the priestly laws did not exist at all. They point to the antagonism existing between the utterances of the prophets, and the provisions found in the ritual, and claim that the prophets could never have seen the Priestly Code. Besides, they urge that such a code must have been developed gradually like other codes, and they refer to the clear quotations and references to the Priests' Code, which we find in Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Books of the Chronicles. To this we reply:

(1.) The non-observance, or only partial observance, of a code does not, of course, prove its non-existence.

(2.) The antagonism which is said to exist between the Law and the Prophets seems to be rather in form than in fact. They present the claims of a spiritual worship, and the utter futility of thinking to secure the favor of God when the heart is far from him. But if it could be proved that their preaching cannot be explained on the supposition that they knew and recognized the Law, still such an attitude would be no more strange than that of the christian Church with reference to the Bible before the Reformation. Indeed, if all records before the time of Luther were

as few and as remote as those before Ezra, it might be claimed with as much show of reason that Luther, instead of Paul, was the author of the Epistle to the Romans, and that all those passages treating of justification by faith were due to him, as to affirm, on the plea of neglect, that Ezra instead of Moses was the author of the Priestly Code.

(3.) The more exact quotations and references which we find in the post-exilic historical books are, as we believe, the fruit of an entirely new period—the period of the Scribes. Ezra was a scribe, skilful in the law of Moses which the Lord God of Israel had given (Ezra vii, 6). He was the first of whom we read that he had prepared to seek the law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Israel statutes and judgments. Now, we should expect that a scribe who, doubtless, knew the Pentateuch by heart, would make far clearer references to it than those who may have read it but rarely.

(4.) It would be incorrect, however, to suppose that there are no traces of the influence of the Law in the earliest Prophets. We find them in Hosea and Amos, and especially in Joel, whom the most recent critics, for this and other reasons, insist in remanding to a post-exilic age. Such traces, too, even of the Elohist legislation, are found in the history. They are eliminated by the critics by supposing that they have been inserted by priestly hands, but it is easy to see that with such a theory the critics can do anything they please with the Bible.

The question may be raised why we find so much clearer references to the Priests' Code in Ezekiel

than in any of the earlier Prophets. For this there appears to be a good reason. The effect of the Babylonian Exile seems to have impressed the religious leaders with their neglect of the Law. Ezekiel, as a prophet, saw his people restored with a modification of the ritual. While Ezra, when he came to re-establish the Jews at Jerusalem, considered the old Mosaic code more binding and feasible than the ideal vision of the prophet.

5. *Alleged Differences in the Legislation of the Pentateuch.*

But turning now to the differences in the legislation. It has become the fashion of the critics to exaggerate them. To illustrate this briefly we refer to two examples:

(1.) We have a statute with reference to the construction of an altar (Ex. xx. 24-25), made either of earth or stone. This is said to be contradictory to the legislation in Deuteronomy and the Priests' Code, where special emphasis is laid on the Central Sanctuary. There is said to be an entire disagreement between this altar described in the Jehovistic Book of the Covenant and the legitimate altar of sacrifice described in the Priestly Code. But it must be remembered before the Central Sanctuary was established at Jerusalem there were many cases which were best met by the law which we find in the Jehovistic Code, and that those altars allowed in the incomplete state of worship were not necessarily antagonistic to the provision for the one central altar.

(2.) Another example is found in the priesthood, which the critics suppose to have passed through various stages of development, because they find the Levitical priests in Deuteronomy, the priests the sons of Zadok in Ezekiel, and the Aaronitic priests in the Middle Books of the Pentateuch and in Chronicles, but it is by no means clear that we have here three grades in an ascending hierarchy. Indeed, we have to do more or less violence to some passages in carrying out this theory.

Even granting such differences as are apparent in the codes it may be a question whether the period of thirty-eight years is not long enough, and the difference in condition between a nomad life in the wilderness, and the prospect of a speedy settlement in Canaan, is not sufficient to harmonize many of the differences.

6. *The Authorship of the Pentateuch.*

While we do not consider it a point of vital importance to defend the Mosaic authorship of the entire Pentateuch, we are brought by modern critics, as it seems to us, to face the following problem: Either the Pentateuch arose chiefly at the beginning of the Israelitish nation during the wandering in the wilderness, or mostly, omitting the Jehovistic portions, after the fall of the Northern Kingdom and even of Judah itself. Either Moses or Ezra must be made responsible for the Pentateuch. The intervening period before Hezekiah does not afford a time when according to the latest investigations it could have risen. Pressed by this alternative there seems

to be no reason why we should deny that at least those parts of the Pentateuch were written by Moses which are assigned to him; and that other parts may have been penned under his direction, or sufficiently soon after his death to assure their essential truthfulness as history. Passages which seem to be of post-Mosaic origin, and post-Mosaic names, may be due to marginal comments which have crept into the text, or to the hand of an editor.

It is our firm conviction, in closing, that men of evangelical spirit will beware how they commit themselves to the uncertain hypotheses of the critics, but we think we see that their investigations, so far as they are well grounded, will bring out all the more clearly the incarnation of the divine revelation in human forms of thought.

Remark: Green, *Moses and the Prophets*, New York, 1882, is designed as a reply to W. Robertson Smith, and is a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject. See also Bissell in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, *Proposed Reconstruction of the Pentateuch*. Andover, 1882, pp. 1-35.

CHAPTER IV.

OLD TESTAMENT INTRODUCTION.

2. *The Prophets.*

The Prophets, as already remarked, include the Historical Books from Joshua to Kings, which are called Former Prophets in distinction from the Prophetical Books which are termed Latter Prophets.

The Prophets were the preachers of ancient Israel. It was not so much their object to foretell future events as to teach the people. Hence whether they recounted narratives from the past, or foretold the judgments which would befall the people, or the blessings which they should enjoy, they had a homiletical end in view, and we might regard the Former Prophets as historical discourses, written for the instruction of the nation.

(1.) JOSHUA.

The text of Joshua may be found in xxi., 43-45, the last verse of which is: "There failed not aught of any good thing which the Lord had spoken unto the house of Israel; all came to pass," and the subject of this sermon might be regarded as "God's faithfulness."

(2.) JUDGES.

So, too, the theme of a part of the Book of Judges is, "Estrangement from God is followed by punishment, and repentance by forgiveness and rest." The text which often recurs is, "And the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and served Baalim," etc. (see Judg. ii. 11 and often). Wellhausen has argued that the history has been manufactured to fit the same homiletical skeleton,* for the prophet was content with one plan which he illustrated variously. The theory in regard to the purpose of the book is undoubtedly correct, but not with respect to the fictitious character of the narratives, which, according to sober criticism, are drawn from written sources, and were perhaps composed during the reign of David.

(3.) SAMUEL.

In the Books of Samuel we have rather a series of biographical pictures. But while Eli, Samuel and Saul are prominent characters, they, after all, furnish a background for the hero of the book, whose memory was more cherished than that of any other of his line, and who became a type of the Second David. The Divine Spirit who spoke through the prophetic writer is manifest in the faithful picture which gives the lights as well as the shadows of David's character. Some extreme critics malign him as the robber chief, and say that the adulterer and murderer was incapable of giving utterance to

**Geschichte Israels*, Berlin, 1878, p. 240 f.

the deep spiritual experiences which are portrayed in the Psalms. But the man who could spare his bitterest enemy twice when his life was in his hand, and when he was dead could sing of a love for him passing that of women; who could mourn for Abner when every reason of state policy should lead him to rejoice that he was no more; who could lie prostrate in grief while the child who was a witness to his shame was nigh to death; and who could almost sob out his life in an abandon of grief when he heard that his most ungrateful son had been slain, was no unworthy type of Him who said on the cross of his enemies: "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do," and certainly under the inspiration of the Spirit of God he could scale the heights or sound the depths of religious experience as represented in the Psalms.

(4.) KINGS.

The theme of the prophetic preaching in the Book of Judges is resumed in the Books of Kings. A prophet, writing in the Exile, shows how Solomon, through his luxury, his worldliness, and his foreign alliances was led far away from God. He also traces step by step the gradual decline of the two kingdoms, until their final overthrow, as brought on by the apostasy of the people and the kings. Throughout the history the prophets, as God's servants, are represented as playing a prominent part in announcing judgments on those who have transgressed (2 Sam. xii. 7-12), or in indicating changes in the royal dynasties (1 Kings xi. 29-39). Espe-

cially do we have an extended view of the position, influence and activity of the prophets in the accounts that are given us of Elijah and Elisha.

(5.) ISAIAH.

While criticism has done comparatively little with the Former Prophets except in the analysis of Joshua, and partly of Judges, it has been especially busied of late with four of the Latter Prophets. If there is any point on which the critics in Germany may be considered as agreed, it is in regard to the post exilic origin of the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah.* Perhaps a large proportion of those who are reckoned as conservative scholars in Germany may be said to favor this view. Even so conservative a critic as Strack† does not maintain the genuineness of xxxvi-xxxix and hence does not find it difficult to reject that of xl-lxvi. Nor does Delitzsch, who still defends the genuineness of Isaiah in his published commentary, hold it firmly.

The theory of the critics in the main is as follows: The Book of Isaiah was not written down by the prophet in the form in which we now have it, but is made up of various addresses of the prophet with other additions in his spirit which were finally brought into their present form perhaps by his disciples, and to which a writer subsequent to Ezekiel, sometimes called the Great Unknown, and sometimes Deutero-Isaiah, added the last twenty-seven chapters.

*Naegelsbach, in Lange's series of commentaries, maintains that Isaiah was the author of the whole book with the exception of several interpolations. See *The Prophet Isaiah*. New York, 1878. p. 17.

†*Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften*, part 1. Noerdlingen, 1883. pp. 144-45.

Some of the chief arguments adduced for the post-exilic origin of these chapters are: (1), the standpoint of the writer is that of the Babylonian exile, for he sees the cities of his own land in ruins (Is., lxiv. 10-11)*; (2), he mentions the future deliverer Koresh (Cyrus, xlv. 28; xlv. 1) by name in a way which is unparalleled in sacred history; (3), the style and modes of representation are quite different from those in the portions which are assigned to Isaiah; (4), the position of Isaiah in the oldest arrangement of books after Ezekiel indicates a consciousness on the part of those who arranged the Canon of the later origin of these closing chapters.

To this we reply: (1). It is admitted by such a conscientious critic as Cheyne that it is not altogether clear that the author is living among the exiles,† for the knowledge which he exhibits of Babylon could have been obtained second hand,‡ and besides, there are some things that point very emphatically to a residence in Palestine, and to a state of things preceding the Babylonian exile.

(2). It is indeed without a parallel, according to the canons of the critics, that so many ages before, the name of the deliverer should be mentioned, still if we regard 1 Kings, xiii. 2, as veritable history, and not, like the critics, from the standard of Herodotus and Livy, who freely put speeches in the mouths of their heroes, we have a prediction which is quite as

*cf. Reuss, *Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments*, Braunschweig, 1881, p. 431.

†*The Prophecies of Isaiah*, vol. ii, London, 1881, p. 202, e.g. lvii. 5. "The reference to torrent-beds is altogether inapplicable to the alluvial plains of Babylon," etc.

‡*Ibid*, p. 208.

explicit in regard to King Josiah, at least three hundred and fifty years before it was fulfilled, as this in respect to Cyrus.

(3). The style is undoubtedly quite different, but this argument cannot be pressed too much. If these chapters were written by Isaiah, they were written late in life, and instead of being speeches, like many of his other predictions, they were composed for the consolation of those who were yet unborn, and we must suppose that they were written in much the same way as the Revelation of John. All these things would lead to a different mode of representation. It is also a well-established historical fact that an author's style is subject to change. Furthermore, it is most surprising when the names of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and all the other prophets except Jonah, have come down to us in connection with their prophecies, that one of the greatest of the prophets should have remained unknown, and that his work should have been assigned to another.

(4). As is well known, the order of the prophecies is not fully chronological, and while the Talmud may not afford the true reason for placing Isaiah after Ezekiel, and Jeremiah first,* yet some such reason may have determined its position.

(6) EZEKIEL.

Especial attention has recently been devoted by negative critics to Ezekiel, on account of the close resemblance between the last nine chapters of his

**Baba bathra* 14b: "Since the Book of Kings ends in destruction, and Jeremiah is all destruction, and Ezekiel begins with destruction and ends in consolation, and Isaiah is all consolation, therefore we unite destruction with destruction, and consolation with consolation."

prophecy (xl-xlvi) and a part of Leviticus (xvii-xxvi). It was at one time held almost unanimously by them that Ezekiel was the author of the latter sections. This theory, however, has been overthrown by a careful comparison, but radical critics, with but one exception,[†] assign a later date to the chapters in Leviticus.

In reply to the question how this very strong resemblance may be explained, and we may still maintain the priority of the authorship of Leviticus, we urge the following points: (1). Ezekiel, as a priest, was likely to be especially familiar with the priestly portions of the Pentateuch. (2). The twenty-sixth chapter of Leviticus, with which his prophecy has much in common, foretelling as it does the judgments and captivity which would overtake Israel in case of their apostasy, would, on account of its fulfilment, make a deep impression on him. (3). The priority of the chapters in Leviticus appears when we remember that Ezekiel's prophecy is strongly tinged with Chaldaisms, from which the chapters in Leviticus are free, and that Jeremiah seems to have been influenced to some extent by Leviticus.

(7) JOEL.

It was almost a necessity for the new school of critics to depose Joel from his position as one of the oldest prophets to one of the youngest, since they

[†]Horst, in his *Leviticus xvii-xxvi und Hezekiel*, Colmar, 1881, maintains that these passages in Leviticus are older than the last part of Ezekiel, although he considers the prophet the author of both.

For a general discussion of this subject from a conservative standpoint, see *The Modern Critics' Bridge in The Levitical Priests*, Edinburgh, 1877, and Gardiner, *The Relation of Ezekiel to the Levitical Law*, in the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, 1882.

do not find in his prophecy that antagonism which is said to exist between the prophetic writings and the Mosaic ritual. For if the observances described in the Priests' Code are post-exilic, then Joel must have prophesied after the Exile, instead of in the ninth century B. C., as most of the older interpreters hold. But as this is precisely the point which is to be proved, it is reasoning in a circle to affirm that Joel uttered his predictions after the Exile, because he refers to offerings and personages which are prominent in the Middle Books of the Pentateuch.

(8) ZECHARIAH.

The prophecy of Zechariah has also received much attention at the hands of the critics. While the first part of the book (i-viii) is ascribed by all authorities to the prophet, the second part (ix-xiv) is thought by many to have been composed by two other prophets before the exile, although critics are not agreed in respect to the date. The arguments urged are mainly a difference in style, and historical allusions which seem to indicate that the kingdoms of Israel and of Syria were still in existence when chapters ix and x were written. Other critics, and recently Stade, have ascribed these chapters to a late post-exilic origin, about the third century B.C. If this is the case there would seem to be less difficulty, in view of the main current of these chapters (compare x, 6-10), in regarding Zechariah as their author.

CHAPTER V.

OLD TESTAMENT INTRODUCTION.

3. *The Sacred Writings.*

In the third division of the Canon criticism has been most actively employed with Psalms, Job, Solomon's Song, Ecclesiastes, Daniel, and the Chronicles.

I. THE PSALMS.

The psalms which are one hundred and fifty in number, are divided into five books, after the analogy of the Pentateuch. The first book comprises Ps. i-xli; the second, Ps. xlii-lxxii; the third, Ps. lxxiii-lxxxix; the fourth, Ps. xc-cvi; the fifth, Ps. cvii-cl.

All except thirty-four psalms, which are called by the Jews orphans, are furnished with superscriptions, indicating either the class of songs to which they belong, their liturgical intent, the author, or the historical circumstances under which they have arisen. Among some critics there is entire skepticism in regard to the superscriptions. They hold that the differences which exist between the superscriptions as found in the Septuagint and Syriac versions and our Hebrew Bibles clearly show, that they were added at a period long subsequent to the time when the psalms were first written, and they reject them alto-

gether. Such deny that David wrote any of the psalms that have come down to us, just as they declare that Moses did not write any part of the Pentateuch or Solomon any Proverbs. But even such critics as Ewald and Hitzig attribute psalms to David. Ewald holds that he was the author of eleven psalms, not including parts of others, and Hitzig attributes fourteen to him, while Delitzsch maintains that forty-four were composed by David.*

Although we are not prepared with Keil to affirm that in every case the superscriptions are genuine,† yet they should not be contested except on convincing internal grounds. It cannot be argued *a priori* that they are reliable any more than that the notes appended to the Epistles are to be accepted as trustworthy because they are found in the text.

It is certainly a strange outcome of criticism that some should assign a large part of the Psalter to the time of the Machabees. It does not, however, seem probable that this opinion will prevail.

2. JOB.

There are two extremes with reference to the time when the Book of Job was written. The first maintains, in accordance with the representation of the Talmud‡ and some of the Church Fathers,|| that it was composed by Moses, the second holds that it

*Cf. Strack, in Zöckler's *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften*, Noerdlingen, 1883, part 1; p. 154.

†*Lehrbuch der Historisch-Kritischen Einleitung*, Frankfurt, 1873, p. 362.

‡See p. 60.

||For example, Ephraem the Syrian, and Jerome.

belongs to the post-exilic period. The first view is contrary to what we know of the development of the wisdom-literature to which it seems to belong. Indeed, it is far more reasonable to suppose with Keil and Delitzsch and others that it belongs to the age of Solomon. The principal reasons assigned for its post-exilic origin are on account of its angelology, which was once supposed to have been derived from Parseeism, and on account of an Aramaic coloring. But it has been proved by Dillmann and is now admitted that its representation of angels was not derived from the Parsees,* and there are other considerations which are more favorable to a pre-exilic than to a post-exilic origin.

There are also two extremes to be avoided as to the materials which enter into the composition of the book. It is neither exact history, nor is it pure fiction. According to the opinion of the most conservative German scholars Job was a real person concerning whom there were traditions among the Israelites. These were taken and worked up freely by the author into a poem, in which we have a prologue and epilogue. All that we can affirm of the author is that he was an Israelite, who was endowed with an unusual knowledge of the outside world.

3. SOLOMON'S SONG.

The traditional interpretation of Solomon's Song both in the Synagogue and the early christian Church was the *allegorical*. According to the ancient Jewish view, Solomon represented God, and

*See Dillmann, *Hiob*, Leipzig, 1869, p. 7, ff.

Shulamith* Old Testament Israel. The same view was adopted by some of the earlier christian writers. This view was modified in the Church so that Solomon represented Christ, and Shulamith the believing soul, or the Church of the New Covenant.

Most critics, however, now affirm that the book must be taken *literally*, as a representation of human love, like that in any erotic poem. Those among them who are more conservative maintain that the book has a didactic purpose and is intended to represent the bliss of a pure wedded love.

It is admitted, however, by Bleek† as probable that on the part of those who accepted it into the Canon the Song must have been understood to indicate a mystical relation subsisting between God and Israel.

A mediating view between the allegorical and the literal is the *typical*, referring the original application of the Song to wedded love, which becomes a type of the relation between Christ and His Church.

(4.) ECCLESIASTES.

By far the greater number of German scholars, including the most conservative, like Keil, are agreed that Ecclesiastes was not written by Solomon, but that it is a product of the period after the Exile. The reasons assigned for disputing his authorship are: (1.) The very strong Aramaic coloring and the pessimistic character of the book indicates that it was written after the Exile. (2.) It is unnatural

*Cant. vii. 1 (Eng. ver, vi. 13).

†*Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Berlin, 1878, p. 522.

that Solomon should complain of the oppressions, of injustice, and of the elevation of fools and slaves to high dignity, but an author writing in the time of the Persian Satraps, when the people were almost in despair might well give expression to such utterances. (3.) Solomon is not named as author either in the superscription or in the contents of book, but rather is made the speaker. "Moreover the poetical fiction according to which the author makes the wise Solomon utter his thoughts concerning the riddle of this life is never concealed," etc.—Keil.

While these are concessions of which advantage may be taken by the critics, this is a question which must be settled with reference to the facts.

(5.) DANIEL.

The tendency of the criticism of the present time is toward the view that the Book of Daniel was written in the age of the Machabees.* Delitzsch assigns it to the year 168 B. C. The reasons which the critics give for this late date are: (1.) Jesus Sirach, at the beginning of the second century B. C., does not mention it in his enumeration of Old Testament Books.† (2.) It does not take its place among the prophets in the Hebrew Canon, where it naturally belongs, but among the Hagiographa;‡ (3.) while the author is imperfectly acquainted with the circumstances of the Babylonian period, he manifests a very exact knowledge of that of the Seleucidae;

*For the spelling of this word, see my Dissertation, *The Name Machabee*, Leipzig, 1876.

†Ecclesiasticus xlv-xlix,

§In the Hagiographa it precedes the two last books in the Old Testament Ezra[Nehemiah], and Chronicles. In the Talmud, *Baba bathra*, it is placed before Esther, cf. p. 60.

(4.) the angelology of the book indicates a later period; (5.) the complexion of the language, and the introduction of the Greek names of musical instruments* point in the same direction.

The most recent discussion of the subject from a conservative standpoint is by Lenormant† and Leathes.‡ Lenormant speaks from the scientific standpoint of Assyrian scholarship, and his views are certainly entitled to great weight. They may be summed up in the following propositions: (1.) At least the first six chapters have a genuine Babylonian coloring, the second part was written at a later period. (2.) In order to destroy the force of the prophecy it would be necessary to prove that Daniel was a christian. (3.) The relation of the Assyrians and Babylonians to the Greeks in the eighth and seventh centuries, partially explains the Greek names of the musical instruments, yet they have probably arisen through translation. (4.) The Book of Daniel contains several historical facts which are wanting in other sacred or in profane writings, but which are confirmed by the testimony of cuneiform texts. (5.) The accuracy of the book in its topography, and in its representation of manners and customs, cannot be explained on the supposition that it was written in the time of the Machabees. (6.) The Aramaic portions of the book are due to the loss of part of the original text, and the adoption of a translation for that which was lacking.

*Dan. iii. 15.

†*Die Magie und Wahrsagekunst der Chaldaeer*, Jena, 1878, pp. 525-571.

‡*Old Testament Prophecy*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1880, pp. 189-232; 275-291.

From all these considerations Lenormant is more and more convinced that at least the first part of the book was composed in Babylon, and near the time when the events are represented to have occurred.

Leathes writes from an apologetic standpoint. He calls special attention to the fact that when Christ began His ministry in Galilee He announced that the time was fulfilled (Mark i., 15). So, too, there are expressions in John which indicate that our Lord regarded His end as an hour which could neither be hastened nor deferred.* Similar expressions are found in the writings of Peter and Paul.

He argues that when Christ said the time is fulfilled He used this expression, not with reference to what He knew of the counsels of the Most High, but with regard to a definite and well-known period. If this is the case the only passage bearing upon the subject is in Daniel's prophecy of the seventy weeks (Dan. ix. 24). This prophecy declares that within 490 years after a certain time the transgression and sin of the nation will be finished and iniquity atoned for, that everlasting righteousness will be brought in, and vision and prophecy concluded, and a holy of holies anointed. Such a prophecy would attract attention.

Leathes assumes that this prediction was uttered in the year 538 B. C., and that the time began from the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem in the seventh year of Artaxerxes or 457 B. C. This would bring us to the year that Christ died, and so would yield an exact fulfillment of the prophecy.

*John vii. 30; viii. 20, xii. 23: 27, etc.

The considerations presented by Lenormant and Leathes, of which we have given only the merest sketch, are certainly of very great weight, and show that it is by no means needful to assume that the Book of Daniel was not put into its present form before the time of the Machabees.

(6.) CHRONICLES.

Perhaps no book has been more maligned than that of Chronicles. Some of the extreme critics have gone so far as to deny that it has any independent historical value, considering that so far as it deviates from Samuel and Kings, it is to a great extent either a fabrication, or so thoroughly subjective as to be unreliable; but even those who are considered very free in their views do not regard this opinion with favor.

It is undoubtedly true that the author of the book belonged to the tribe of Levi. As such he would be especially interested in every part of the history which presents a liturgical or priestly character. But it is indeed a great and unwarrantable assumption that he wrote in the spirit of the Priests' Code, and so introduced the priests and Levites whenever occasion required, without any historical basis whatever; for he names other authorities besides the Books of Samuel and Kings, and an examination of his work confirms this view; further, the deviations between the Priests' Code and the Book of Chronicles are so considerable that it cannot be affirmed, as we have shown elsewhere, that there is a close and immediate relationship between the two.

CHAPTER VI.

THE OLD TESTAMENT CANON.

1. *Signification of the Name and Difficulties of the Investigation.*

The term Canon signifies rule or norm, and when applied to the Old Testament Scriptures, is understood to indicate those books which were written under the inspiration of God primarily for the moral and religious guidance of his ancient people.

The word Canon, or its Hebrew equivalent, was unknown to Israel, and was first brought into use, so far as we know, in the fourth century of our era, at the council of Laodicea (363 A. D.), but the fact of a divine revelation was undoubtedly recognized by them long before the Exile.

The question as to the origin and extent of the Canon is involved in much obscurity. Reliable historical testimonies do not extend earlier than the year 132 B. C., and these are but of a partial character. The more definite traditions recorded in the Talmud were not written down before the fourth or fifth* centuries of the Christian era, and although

*According to Emmanuel Deuttsch, the so-called Jerusalem Gemara was redacted at Tiberias about 390 A. D., and the Babylonian at Sora, 365-427 A. D. The codex of the latter, however, was not closed until the end of the fifth century. *Literary Remains*, London, 1874, p. 40.

they may have been faithfully transmitted for several hundred years, we cannot attribute to them historical certainty.

2. *The Traditional View as to its Origin.*

The old traditional and ecclesiastical view respecting the origin of the collection is that it was made by Ezra and the men of the Great Synagogue.

The tradition is given in the Talmud as follows: "Moses wrote his Book and the paragraph about Balaam and Job; Joshua wrote his Book and eight verses in the Tora; Samuel wrote his Book and Judges and Ruth; David wrote the Book of Psalms with the coöperation of the ten elders (Adam, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Jeduthan, Asaph, and the three sons of Korah); Jeremiah wrote his Book and the Books of Kings and Lamentations; Hezekiah and his company wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, Solomon's Song and Ecclesiastes; the men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezekiel, the Twelve Prophets, Daniel and the roll of Esther; Ezra wrote his Book and the genealogy of Chronicles to his time."

It will be seen, in the words of Strack, "that not a word is said in this passage concerning a conclusion of the Canon, but only concerning the composition of the Holy Scriptures. Yet it is to be observed that on account of this passage the opinion could be easily formed, and really was formed, that the Canon was closed in the time of Ezra and of the Great Synagogue."*

**Kanon des Alten Testaments* in Herzog und Plitt's *Real-Encyclopædie*, vol. vii, Leipzig 1880, p. 418.

3. *The Order in which the Books became Canonical.*

There are two extreme views in regard to the origin of the Canon:

(1.) It was held by many theologians (to quote from Dillmann)* that "certain books of the Old Testament were written from the beginning with the purpose that they should be honored and used by the Church as sacred books and delivered to future generations. Through each new book of this kind that was added in the course of the centuries, the Canon was formed and extended. As soon as the last book of this sort appeared the Canon was closed, and it was only necessary to collect these books that had gradually appeared, to unite them in one whole, and to bring them into the beautiful order in which they now lie before us."

(2.) There are those who maintain that the Old Testament is nothing more than a collection of Hebrew literature, in which all that survived from earlier times was united. This view is entirely unhistorical, for from the days of Ezra to Josephus, other books, written in the Hebrew language, did not come into the Old Testament Canon, and were lost on this account.

It is certain, however, that all the Old Testament books did not become canonical at once. Three important stages can be traced in the production of the Canon which do not exclude a still more gradual progress.

The Jews really distinguish three grades of inspiration. The Tora or Pentateuch was holiest of all,

**Jahrbuecher fuer Deutsche Theologie*, 1858, p. 420.

the Prophets were less holy, and the third division, called merely Writings, in distinction from the other two, were least holy. The Talmudists said that while the Prophets were written by the spirit of prophecy, the Writings were written by the Holy Spirit, and so possessed inferior dignity. The New Testament, of course, does not recognize these different degrees of inspiration, but they are clear proofs of three stages in the formation of the Canon.

The books of the Old Testament were arranged quite differently by the Palestinian than by the Alexandrian Jews. The following is the arrangement of the Palestinian Jews: First comes the Tora or Pentateuch; then the Prophets (*Nebiim*), comprising •Former Prophets, four books: Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings; Latter Prophets, four books: Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, and the twelve Minor Prophets as one book; third, the *Writings* (*Kethubim*), so called in distinction from the more sacred books, but termed by the Greeks Hagiographa, in distinction from profane books. This division comprises Ruth as a prologue to the Psalms, then the Psalms themselves, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Solomon's Song, Lamentations, Daniel, Esther, Ezra [Nehemiah] and Chronicles.

4. *The Time when the Books became Canonical.*

The time when these books became canonical in some cases must depend upon their authorship. It is certain that if Moses was the author of the Pentateuch it must have been recognized as given by Divine authority from the very first. All but the

critics of the extremeschool maintain that at the latest Deuteronomy was canonical in the eighteenth year of Josiah.

But the Prophets were made up of different writings composed at widely separated periods before and during the Exile. At the latest the canonical authority of the Prophets as a whole must have been first generally recognized about the time of Ezra.

We cannot say as much respecting the so-called Writings. It is easy to see why Psalms, Job and Proverbs should be excluded from the second-class, but we cannot explain, on the theory that the third division became canonical about the same time as the second, why Daniel was not included among the Prophets as in our English Bible, and why Ezra and Chronicles should not find a place in connection with the former Prophets. It is said by way of explanation that Daniel did not have the office of a prophet, but only the gift of prophecy. This does not seem to meet the case, and we are inclined to believe that these books became canonical at least somewhat later.

5. *Principles which Governed in the Formation of the Canon.*

As has already been remarked, the Old Testament Canon was not co-extensive with the Old Hebrew literature. Although no official decision was rendered in regard to the extent of the Canon until the Synedrion at Jamnia (Yebna) in the year 70 A. D., we have reason to believe, notwithstanding the discussions which obtained between the schools of

Hillel and Shammai, that the orthodox Jews had long been agreed as to what Scriptures were of canonical authority.

The orthodox Palestinian Jews held that the gift of prophecy had disappeared with Malachi (1 Machab. ix. 27); hence Josephus, who doubtless expresses the opinion of his contemporaries of the first century, claims that the Canon was closed in the time of Artaxerxes* (465-425 B. C.). On the other hand the fact that the Alexandrian Jews held, that the gift of inspiration was continued from age to age, (Wisdom vii. 27) is not at all inconsistent with the view that, among orthodox Jews in the time of Christ, there was a clearly defined Old Testament Canon corresponding to our own.

Nor was this Canon formed accidentally, but in God's Providence under the operation of certain fixed principles. So far as we can judge, a book was regarded of divine authority, either because the author was recognized as commissioned by God to speak to the people, or from the divine attestation given to it in the people's history, or because it was thought to be especially adapted to their needs.

We may be sure that there was a reason for the rejection of those Hebrew books which have not come down to us. We have allusions in the Pentateuch (Num. xxi. 14), and the historical books to other Hebrew documents that have perished (Josh. x. 13; 2 Sam. i. 18; 1 Kings xi. 41; xiv. 19, 29 and often). However valuable the royal records might be for the purposes of history, they

**Contra Apionem*, i. 8.

were not adapted to teach the lessons which the prophets desired to impress upon the people. Hence those historical books which were written to illustrate certain truths in God's dealings with Israel (e. g. Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, etc.) have been preserved while all the documents from which they have been derived have perished. Not a single uncanonical book which has come down to us dates farther back, so far as we know, than the second century before Christ.

If we accept the tradition of Josephus that no books were admitted into the Canon after the time of Artaxerxes we shall have a sufficient reason for the rejection of the entire Apocrypha, and of such an excellent book as Ecclesiasticus, which was never even proposed by the Jews for admission to the Canon. But the majority of critics, including Delitzsch, assign the composition of Daniel to the time of the Machabees (168 B. C.). Hence they are bound to account for its immediate and undisputed acceptance while the other books are rejected. They are compelled to assign its success to the power of a great name, that is the Jews must have accepted it so unquestioningly, because they believed that Daniel was its author. It would seem, therefore, that there was an impression current among the Jews, that books written later than the time of Artaxerxes were not canonical.

6. *Testimonies with reference to the Extent of the Canon.*

The oldest statement that we have respecting the number of books contained in the Old Testament Canon, is in a treatise by Josephus against Apion (i. 8), written about the year 100 A.D., where he says: "For there is not a myriad of books among us, which are discordant and conflicting, but only twenty-two books containing the records of all past times, which are justly believed to be divine."

It has been maintained that this testimony represents merely a private opinion, but the whole connection shows that it was the view of his contemporaries. It is generally agreed by the critics that Josephus' Canon was essentially our own.

The earlier writers, who are usually cited, refer more or less distinctly to the three divisions of the Canon.

The first of these is Jesus Sirach, about the year 180 B. C., who in the Book of Ecclesiasticus evidently betrays an acquaintance with the Law and the Prophets, although he makes no distinct reference to the Sacred Writings. The second is his grandson, who translated the Book of Ecclesiasticus from Hebrew into Greek, 132 B. C., and who speaks in a prologue of the law, the prophecies, and the rest of the books. While we cannot prove from the last expression, that he had all the writings of the Hagiographa in mind, yet we cannot disprove it.

The third writer is Philo, who was born about 20 B. C. From his quotations we learn that he used all the books of the Old Testament except Ezekiel,

Daniel and the five Megilloth (rolls—Ruth, Solomon's Song, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations and Esther). This failure to quote them, however, cannot be adduced to show that he did not regard them as scripture.*

The fourth writer in the Second Book of Machabees (ii. 13, 14) relates how Nehemiah, "founding a library, gathered together the books concerning the kings, and those of David, and epistles concerning holy gifts." This tradition indicates two things: (1) that at the time of the author there was a collection of books, which seems to have corresponded, in some degree, to our canonical Scriptures; and (2) that Nehemiah was instrumental in bringing this collection together.

The last writer that we shall cite is Luke, who, in his Gospel (xxiv. 44) quotes Christ as saying: "These are the words which I spake unto you while I was yet with you, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the psalms, concerning me."

It does not fall within the province of either of these writers, except Josephus, to state the number of books in the Old Testament. But we do not find anything in them to contradict his statement as to the number, or with regard to the recognition of their divine authority.

*It used to be customary to make the following quotation from Philo in regard to the Therapeutae: "In each house of these ascetics there is a temple which is called a Monastery, in which they perform the rites of a holy life, introducing therein nothing which is needed for the necessities of the body, but laws, and oracles delivered by prophets, and hymns and other[books] by which knowledge is mutually increased and perfected." But P. C. Lucius, Strasburg, 1880, has proved, as some think, that this writing was not composed by Philo, but first in the third century after Christ.

7. *Controverted Books,*

Samuel Davidson, in *the Canon of the Bible** says, that there was a skepticism [among the Jews] with reference to Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Esther, and the Proverbs, which went far to procure the exclusion of the suspected works from the Canon, and their relegation to the class of *genusim* (withdrawn from public use). "The first was impugned because it had contradictory passages and a heretical tendency; the second, because of its worldly and sensual tone; Esther for its want of religiousness; and Proverbs on account of its inconsistencies."

An examination of the Talmudic passages, where these controverted books are mentioned, shows that Davidson's statement is altogether too strong, and there seems to be far more reason for adopting the following quotation from Strack as a more satisfactory †setting forth of the case.

"Contradictions, in sober earnest, against the Canon of twenty-four books . . . were never raised in old Judaism. Nor were books which had once been received, earnestly contended against, nor was an effort made afterward to receive a book which had not already been received . . . [In all the Talmudical discussions] the question is not concerning the reception of new books, not concerning the enlargement of the Canon, not even concerning the exclusion of a book on account of some critical doubts; but simply that some learned men presented reasons for the exclusion of one or the other

*Henry S. King & Co., London, 1877, p. 35.

†Herzog & Plitt, *Real-Encyclopædie*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 429.

books which had long been received, derived from the contents without any practical consequences following these debates. In manifold ways these debates give the impression that scruples were only raised in order to be refuted. . . . It does not follow from a single passage that in the religious consciousness of the people there was ever an uncertainty concerning the canonicity of the twenty-four books."

8. *Conclusion.*

It will be seen that the historical references fairly interpreted are not sufficient to prove that the Canon was formed by any one man, or any body of men inspired for that purpose.

The christian Church, then, in dealing with this question, must depend upon the testimony of Christ and his apostles as to the inspired character of the Old Testament books. And here it must be remembered that we cannot absolutely prove that the Canon which Christ and his apostles had was exactly the same that we have, although this is most probable. But in any case the doubt could only pertain to Ecclesiastes, Solomon's Song, and the Book of Esther. And in regard to these the only safe course is to accept the testimony of tradition with reference to their canonicity.

While this conclusion may be disappointing, it should be remembered that the divine authority of the Old Testament is so abundantly attested in the New that we have no need of any further witness.

Remark. It is thought by some that in Matt. xxiii. 35 and Luke xi. 51, where we read: "From the blood of Abel [Gen. iv, 10] unto the blood of Zacharias [2. Chron. xxiv, 20-21], which perished between the altar and the temple," we have an indication of the extreme limits of the Old Testament as known to our Lord, that is from Genesis the first, to Chronicles the last book in the Hebrew Bible. But we cannot urge this any more than the critics would have a right to urge the fact, that because the New Testament never refers unmistakably to Judges, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, these books were not recognized as canonical by our Lord and His disciples.

CHAPTER VII.

THE OLD TESTAMENT TEXT.

We now come to consider the testimony of the versions with regard to the original text. The question naturally rises whether the Scriptures of the Old Testament have come down to us substantially in their original form. Modern criticism declares that they have not, that there was a time when the sacred text was handled with a good degree of freedom. Let us examine the question for ourselves. It will perhaps be profitable to take the period which is best known to us and travel backwards.

Before we begin, it is well to remember that we should have no difficulty in discussing the question, if the original autographs had come down to us, but they have not, and the oldest manuscripts that we have are of a comparatively late date.*

*The most ancient Hebrew manuscript that we possess is *Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg, dating from the year 916 A. D. It contains the Latter Prophets and the Massora. There is also a Hebrew manuscript in the University Library at Cambridge, which is thought by Dr. Schiller Zinnessy to belong to the ninth century A. D. cf. *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts*, Cambridge, 1876, pp. 12-15.

The question naturally arises why we have no older manuscripts. Two reasons may be offered: (1) the many persecutions from which the Jews suffered were unfavorable to the preservation of manuscripts; and (2) after the Massorites had settled upon a certain text it is probable that all copies differing from this text were neglected or destroyed.

As is known, the books of our Scriptures were written with consonants, without any vowels or accents. The vowel and accentual system was handed down by tradition. As the knowledge of Hebrew began to decay the fear arose that the remembrance of the vowels would be lost, and so it was deemed expedient to fix it by signs. These signs were not invented all at once, but were gradually developed. It is supposed that the system, so far as we have it, was brought to perfection about the seventh century A. D. There was also a most minute and careful study of the text. All the passages were counted where certain expressions occurred, and the result was noted on the margin of the manuscripts. If a letter happened to be larger or smaller than the rest, it was left in the text, and attention was called to it on the margin. The period of this scrupulous exactness is called the period of the Massorites, or guardians of tradition, for Massora means tradition. This period begins with the sixth century of our era and extends to the tenth. We know that from the sixth century down to the present time, so far as human power could secure an accurate transmission of the text, it has secured it for us, not with absolute perfection, but with sufficient accuracy.

The period preceding the sixth century of our era until the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. was that of the Talmudists. We have no manuscripts from this period. We can form an estimate of the condition of the text from the versions which arose during this time, so far as they were derived from the original Hebrew. Before we consider them we

must remember that the Talmud represents the consonantal text throughout as unchangeable. It describes how the scribes counted the number of verses, words, and letters that were in the Old Testament. Even points which are found in two or three passages over certain words were preserved with a superstitious care.*

As we have no manuscripts from the period of the Talmudists, we proceed to examine the translations which arose in this period. There are certain things, however, which prevent them from being a correct mirror of the text.

(1) AQUILA.

The earliest version, of which only fragments remain, is that of Aquila (117-138 A. D.) So far as we can learn it was slavishly literal, but it is too fragmentary for us to make it a means of determining the condition of the Hebrew text at that time.†

Before mentioning the other versions we must remember that they have not come down to us in any such purity as the Hebrew text which they are supposed to represent.

*See the Hebrew of Deut. xxix.28; Num. xxix.15, and *The Levitical Priests*, Edinburgh, 1877, p. 159.

†For an account of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotian, see Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iv., New York, 1870, pp. 3379, ff.; and for Aquila alone compare Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, vol. 1, London, 1877, pp. 150-51. The fragments of the above versions and others are gathered in the very valuable work of Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt; sive Veterum Interpretum, Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum Fragmenta*, Oxonii, 1875. The materials found in this and similar works might serve to give us a view of the condition of the text in the time of the Talmudists, but certainty, even with the greatest care and discrimination, cannot be attained.

(2) THE SYRIAC VERSION.

The Syriac version called Peshitto, which means simple, probably arose in the last part of the second century. The Old Testament part is in the main a careful rendering of the original Hebrew, and is mostly free from additions and changes, although some occur in the Books of Kings and Chronicles. It is asserted that the translation often follows another text than the Massoretic, but this, under the circumstances, can hardly be proved.

(3) THE TARGUM OF ONKELOS.

If now we summon the Targum of Onkelos as a witness, with reference to the condition of the text during this period, we shall find that it is not trustworthy. Targum comes from the same root as Dragoman, which means interpreter. As the people came to make Aramaic their vernacular, and began to lose their knowledge of Hebrew, it became necessary, when the Scriptures were read in the Synagogue, that some one should interpret in Aramaic. This interpretation was oral, and was not allowed to be written down and read, lest the people should think that the interpretation was the Scripture itself. It was not until the second century of our era that they began to write down the Targums, and they were not complete in written form until the fourth century, but as there are as many as thirty-one classes of variations from our Hebrew text which have been introduced systematically to avoid anthropomorphisms, or anthropopathisms, or for the

sake of honoring the nation and its ancestors, we can see that no reliance can be placed on the Targums in determining what the Hebrew text was in the time of the Talmudists.*

(4) THE VULGATE.

So, too, the fact that the Vulgate, or the Latin version, by Jerome, differs from our present Hebrew text cannot be too strongly urged. It was prepared between the years 392 and 404 A. D. The ordinary text of the Vulgate became very corrupt, as the old Latin version, which was simply a translation of the Septuagint or Greek version, was in existence by the side of the Vulgate, and many changes were introduced into the Vulgate from it. The case is the same as if the Revised version should be corrected according to King James. Hence we can not definitely say what was the original Hebrew text which lay before Jerome.

Such, then, are some of the witnesses to the state of the text in the Talmudical period from 70 A. D. to the sixth century. But as we have seen, we cannot, from one or all of them, determine that the text which they represent varied to any considerable extent from our own. Indeed, those who have no particular interest in maintaining the integrity of the text do not claim, on the basis of any of these versions, any radical variation from our own text.

*Deutsch's article in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, New York, 1870, pp. 3395-3424; also in his *Literary Remains*, London, 1874, pp. 319 ff.

They maintain, however, that in the first period of the history of the text from the time of Ezra to the destruction of Jerusalem, changes were introduced with a good deal of freedom.* They argue that great strictness was observed after the destruction of Jerusalem because Rabbi Akiba,† a famous Jewish scholar, was very conservative in his treatment of the text.

We have only two witnesses as to the condition of the text before the destruction of Jerusalem. These are the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Septuagint or Greek version. The weight of critical authority now seems to be in favor of the origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch after the Exile. That is our Pentateuch is supposed to have been carried to the Samaritans by a son-in-law of Sanballat.‡ But whether this or an earlier age be assigned to it, it contains very marked variations from our Pentateuch.

*Geiger, in his *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel*, Breslau, 1857, pp. 97-98, says: "By the side of copies, which probably had been preserved from an earlier period, and others which had been written off after them and were perhaps preserved in the Temple, the common current copies were certainly treated very arbitrarily, and received many additions. They were worked over and became corrupt." He says further that there are many traces of these corruptions in our text, and stoutly maintains that the Samaritans and the translators of the Septuagint version must have had as pure a text as the Palestinean Jews. This, however, is an opinion without sufficient proof. Dillmann in his article, entitled *Bibeltext des Alten Testament*, in Herzog und Plitt's *Real-Encyklopaedic*, vol. ii, Leipzig, 1878, p. 386, supports the same view as to the freedom in the treatment of the text.

†He flourished in the last part of the first century.

‡Neh. xiii. 28 cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* XI, vii. 2; XII, iv, 1.

(5) THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

Although mentioned by the Church Fathers, no copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch reached Europe until the year 1616. About fifteen years later Morinus published an essay in which he pronounced the newly found codex, with its multitudinous variations from the Massoretic text, as infinitely superior to it.

Fierce theological controversies grew out of the matter, which were continued for nearly two hundred years, until the whole subject was set at rest, by Gesenius, in 1815, after some valuable contributions had been made by an earlier critic. He showed that some variations from the Massoretic text had arisen, in the language of Emanuel Deutsch,* from "an imperfect knowledge of the first elements of grammar and exegesis; and that others owe their existence to a studied design of conforming certain passages to the Samaritan mode of thought, speech and faith—more especially to show that the Mount Gerizim, upon which their temple stood, was *the* spot chosen and indicated by God to Moses as the one on which He desired to be worshipped. Finally, that others are due to a tendency towards removing . . . all that seemed obscure or in any way doubtful, and towards filling up all apparent imperfections by means of newly invented and badly fitting words and phrases. . . . From the immense number of these worse than worthless variants Gesenius has singled out four, which he thinks preferable, on the whole, to those of the

**Literary Remains*, London, 1874, p. 410.

Massoretic Text," but they have been all but unanimously rejected.

It will be seen that the Samaritan Pentateuch cannot be relied on to indicate the state of the Hebrew text at that time, because it has evidently been tampered with by a heretical sect.

The Septuagint, too, presents many variations which are relied upon by such critics as Dr. W. Robertson Smith and Wellhausen, to prove the existence of a Hebrew text differing from our own. Before we speak of this matter a brief sketch of this translation will not be out of place.

(6) THE SEPTUAGINT.

This is the oldest version and the first in importance. It grew up gradually to meet the wants of the Alexandrian Jews probably between the years 250 and 150* B. C.

We are not to attribute any value to the legends with reference to the origin of the Septuagint. They have probably arisen from a desire to glorify the Jewish people and the Alexandrian version.

The true state of the case was probably as follows: As in Palestine it became necessary to give an interpretation of the passages read from the Law and the Prophets in the Synagogue in the Aramaic language, so in Egypt it was found needful on account of the decay in the knowledge of Hebrew, to interpret the passages read by means of the Greek language. This rendering or these explanations may have been gradually written down, and very

*See Fritzsche *Alexandrinische Uebersetzung des Alten Testaments* in Herzog and Plitt's *Real-Encyklopaedie*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 282.

likely formed the basis of the translation of the Pentateuch, which seems to have been the work of different persons, and may have been written in the age of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B. C.). The Prophets were probably produced later, and the Hagiographa, excepting perhaps the Book of Esther, last of all. It came to be regarded by Jews and christians as an inspired book, and it was not until the discussions arose between the Jews and early christians, that it was dethroned from its high position by the Palestinean Jews.* With all its excellencies it is far inferior to the text of the Hebrew Scriptures. Whatever may have been the character of the texts from which it was translated (and these were doubtless very diverse) there are certain things which have tended to make it in many places inaccurate: (1.) As the knowledge of the Hebrew language was rapidly disappearing among the Alexandrian Jews, they have failed in many cases to apprehend the sense of the original; (2.) it presents in some places easier readings, which have doubtless arisen from the effort to remove difficulties; (3.) additions have been made from parallel passages; (4.) the text has become very corrupt on account of neglect, etc., and through a misuse of Origen's Hexapla.

While, then, this version is of great value, it should be remembered that many of the variations from the Massoretic text have arisen from other causes than a different Hebrew original, and that,

*The day when the Septuagint was made was considered a day of distress like the one on which the golden calf was cast, and was actually entered among the fast days. Deutsch, *Literary Remains*, London, 1874, p. 341.

even if we could prove the existence of a Hebrew text varying considerably from the standard text, it would by no means follow that the scribes handled it with such freedom as some of the critics claim, in view of the variations found in the Septuagint, especially since the Alexandrian Jews, with their lax notions of inspiration, would be likely to take far greater liberties with the text than the orthodox Palestineans.

Now, when we consider that the only standards of comparison for the Massoretic text are the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint version, it seems clear that the critics can have no sufficient ground for affirming that there were great differences in the Palestinian manuscript of the Old Testament books in the time of the scribes. Besides, it is most likely that the opinion held by a former generation of scholars, and still maintained, that a model codex of the Old Testament Scriptures was kept in the Temple is correct.* In any case the critics move in the sphere of hypothesis when they assume that the Palestinian Jews in the time of the scribes handled their texts with freedom.

REMARK.—Our treatment of the department of Old Testament Theology would also include, besides Exegesis and Introduction, a statement of the character and methods of Old Testament History, and Old Testament Theology in the narrower sense. These we reserve for a discussion in our next issue.

*This supposition rests on the fact that the two tables of stone on which the commandments were to be inscribed were to be preserved with care, and that Moses is said to have delivered the Book of the Law to the priests (Deut. xxxi, 25-26) for safe keeping, and commanded the King to write a copy of the laws (Deut. xvii. 18). Moreover, Josephus seems to indicate that there was a copy kept in the Temple in his time, for he says that in the triumphal procession of Titus was carried the Law of the Jews *Wars* VII. v, 5.

HISTORIC THEOLOGY.

CHURCH HISTORY.

ITS IDEA, CONTENTS AND METHOD OF TREATMENT,
AS APPREHENDED IN THE PRESENT STATE
OF THE SCIENCE,

WITH SOME NOTICE OF AUXILIARY STUDIES.

BY

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HISTORIC THEOLOGY.

INTRODUCTION.

It is the aim of the following part of this work to present an outline—not always, perhaps, observing a strict proportion of parts—of the whole field of Church History which may serve as an introduction to the special study hereafter of particular questions. Such an encyclopædic conspectus is of prime importance in historic investigation where the difficulties of facts and details are so liable to cause confusion and misconception; and it is, perhaps, just in the prominence given to this matter that one of the chief advantages of the modern historic method is to be found. Delitzsch says:* “If the intellectual character and progress of our time reflects itself in any one idea, it is in that of the organic. Kant first recognized the idea of the organic in nature; Schelling then taught us to regard the world as one complete organism, to which Hegel added the idea of organic development, which set the history of the world in an entirely new light.” This unity of studies which recognizes them all as currents in one vast stream, has given a great impulse to his-

**System der christlichen Apologetik*, § 3.

toric research. Most scientific works now open with a historic chapter, until there seems a danger of merging all science in some form of development.

Schleiermacher was especially influential in giving organic unity to theological studies, and in bringing the historic element into its proper place. It is now universally recognized as the accompaniment and successor of all sound exegesis, and the forerunner and guide to all sound dogmatics. Thus, of the three great departments of theological thought—the exegetical, the historic, and the dogmatic—it occupies the middle place, casting its light backwards and forwards; illustrating on the one hand the modes of revelation, the circumstances in which the Scriptures were written, and contributing largely what grammar and lexicon fail to supply in interpreting the sacred text; on the other hand, by showing how the thought of the Church came gradually to consciousness, how the contents of Revelation took systematic shape in conflict with error and in the growing understanding of the Church, and how the Spirit of God through national, linguistic and educational differences brought the truth of Christ into light and life, enabling the theologian to see with the wisdom of centuries, and speak with the authority of the Universal Church. How large a place the historic element now occupies in theological studies may be seen in such works as the *Handbuch der Theologischen Wissenschaften*, 1883, edited by Zöckler, in which not only such subjects as History of Israel, New Testament History, and Church History proper are given prominent positions, but in the treatment of

such branches as Ethics and Practical Theology it is considered wise to give half the space to the historic introduction; and in the "*Theologischer Jahresbericht*,"* containing the literature for 1881, in which four of the twelve writers and one hundred and thirty-four of the three hundred and forty-four pages are occupied with the literature of Church History.

*Herausgegeben von B. Puenjer, Leipzig, 1882.

CHAPTER I.

I. THE IDEA OF THE CHURCH AND THE WORK OF CHURCH HISTORY.

The Church is the Kingdom of God on earth, and may be said to begin its history with Adam and Eve. It had an antediluvian, a patriarchial and a Mosaic period, and formed a chosen people, a royal priesthood, to which the New Testament saints loved to look back. And yet the history of the Christian Church, strictly speaking, begins with the work of Christ. In breadth, in catholicity, in universality of aim, the Lord established a new Church. It is the *ἐκκλησία*, the called, the chosen of the Lord, the founded of God. It is the life of Christ among men, the body of Christ, in which the members are united together by a common faith, and seek by a life of holiness and obedient activity, to bring all men to a knowledge of God. This is the true Church, the invisible body of Christ, filled with His Spirit, and recognizing as brethren all those that love the Lord in sincerity. There is another Church, however, the visible—not quite parallel with the first, but containing many dead members, and not a little stained by contact with the world. This latter forms the subject of Church History. The record of the former, sharply distinguished, is known only to God; that of the latter, included of course in the former

in so far as the one is a true manifestation of the other, showing how the life of Christ acts through sinful men, and how this visible Kingdom of righteousness has, under the impulse and guidance of the Holy Spirit, battled with the powers of evil in its development in knowledge and true holiness, is what the Church Historian must trace and explain. And yet, as we must notice later, there is by no means agreement among theologians in their definition of the historic Church, in their explanation of the relation between the Church visible and invisible, and as to how far the Church visible extends both in time and space and logical comprehension. It is very clear that Ecclesiastical History, which undertakes to describe the life and working of the Church, will vary in its extent and modes of treatment according to the definition of the Church with which the writer sets out. The sectarian, the rationalist, the Roman Catholic, will tell the story of genuine believers, of the ethical state or of the infallible Church in harmony with his preconceived idea. It would thus seem an indispensable prerequisite to settle first of all the definition of the Church. But this has not yet been possible, and such a definition, satisfactory to all christians, seems still very far from attainment. The Church has sometimes been distinguished from the Kingdom of God as that which *is* in relation to that which is *becoming*. But in the end the Church and the Kingdom will be one, and it is true now that the idea of the Church is so inseparably involved in the History of the Church—the body of Christ looks towards that body when it

has reached its full stature—that an approach towards a correct definition can best be reached by a careful study of so much of the life and growth of the Church as we possess.

As a philosophy of History can be written only when all the data are at hand, i. e. when History has come to an end, so can the Church first be perfectly understood when its temporal life has closed. We may, therefore, proceed to ecclesiastical history without a perfect definition of the Church, for the reciprocal study of the idea and its development will shed increasing light upon both.*

The general character of the Church and what its life and labors should include are set forth in broad outline in the New Testament.

The apostles were commanded to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature, hence an essential part of the history of their lives and those of their successors must be occupied in telling how that command was obeyed, and what was the fruit of their labors. This gives *The History of Missions, or the outward spread of the Church*.

Then they were instructed by Christ, they were disciples—learners—and went forth to preach and teach the things concerning His death and resurrection, and that life could be found only through faith in His name. The form of sound words which the apostles taught they exhorted their followers to hold fast; the faith delivered to the saints was to be transmitted in the face of profane babblings and opposi-

*Cf. Hagenbach in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopædie*, Article *Kirchengeschichte*, Ed. 1857.

tions of false science—in other words we are called to trace *the History of Doctrine and Theological Science* in the Church.

The effect of sound teaching was to be holy living. Christians are called saints, the washed, unspotted from the world, the temple of God.

The life struggle of the Church as of the individual believer was to be toward that holiness without which no man shall see the Lord. How far has that high ideal been reached, and what has chiefly hindered its accomplishment?

These questions must be answered by a *History of Morals* in the Church.

One of the earliest terms applied by christians to one another was that of brother. The Church formed a family, which soon grew into a society with branches in every great centre, requiring some kind of organic unity, and soon provoking by its strength the question of its relation to the State and the whole world of civil life. This yields *the History of Church Constitution and Discipline*.

Finally, certain ordinances, seasons and ceremonies, either taught in the Scriptures or borrowed from Judaism and heathenism, entered largely into the religious practices of the Church, and grew with the years into a most elaborate and greatly varied ritual, which touched every phase of Christian living.

We have here to treat of *the History of Worship*. Each of these divisions has been selected for independent discussion—and very properly and profitably so. But the natural way of approach is first to learn of them in general, and as they stand closely

connected with the daily life of the Church, then study them in their separate historic development.

Hence the best book for the young student of History is the largest book, the one that gives him all the incidents and anecdotes and personal descriptions of leading men. After that, the critical, the analytical, the philosophy of thoughts and things. In such analytical treatment, however, care must be taken not to sacrifice historic proportion to logical form. The material assumes different relations in different periods: e. g., in the early Church the missionary element is prominent; then doctrine becomes the central point; in the Middle Ages the Papacy overshadows all else; with Protestantism national church life claims a large share of attention. Subjects, too, shift their perspective—as Monasticism, which, in its origin is treated as asceticism and belonging to christian morals, but in the Middle Ages becomes a bulwark of the Papacy and finds its treatment under church constitution. History repeats itself, but it does so—as has been said—in a spiral, hence in each successive period the historian, while using the same categories, must never lose sight of the changed landscape due to his increased elevation.

I. HISTORY OF THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY.

In its narrower sense of the History of Missions, this branch of our study has been recently classified by German Encyclopaedists as a distinct department, under the name of *Keryktik*. It discusses the obstacles in the way of Christianity, modes of evangelization, and the results of faithful gospel preach-

ing. Our holy religion has its root in Christ, the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. It spread by such preaching, owned and sealed by the Holy Ghost; and conquered the Roman Empire through the labors of men who believed that the unconverted heathen were sinking to eternal perdition.* With such a primary cause, and such christian presuppositions, Gibbon's famous secondary causes may be accepted as helping to explain the growth of the early Church. To the five which he adduces—the inflexible zeal of the christians, the solemn doctrine of a future life, the miracles ascribed to the primitive Church, the pure morals of the christians, and the discipline and union of the christian republic†—there may be added such considerations as the protection and peace of Roman rule, easy communication by splendid roads and by merchant ships, the wide use of the Greek tongue, the tolerance granted new religions by the Romans—there was no persecution of Christianity on principle during the first two hundred years, and the Scriptures,—heathenism had no Bible.

Our study traces along such lines missionary activity through all the centuries. Six hundred years of such work destroyed heathenism in the Roman Empire. It took a thousand years for Christianity to cross Germany. In the very heart of the Middle

*. Cf. on the Jewish view in the time of Christ, *The Book of Enoch*, Cap. 1, c. 10, c. 22. *Pirke Aboth* 3, 15; 4, 22, etc.; Philo I. 228, and section 74 in Weber's *Altpalaestinsche Theologie*. 1880. In the Church cf. *Ep. of Barnabas*, c. 19 and 20, Justin Martyr *Dialogus cum Tryphonte* c. 28, Tertullian *de Spectaculis* c. 30 etc. and *I Apol.*, p. 48, Cyprian *ad Demetrium* c. 25.

† Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, c. 15.

Ages earnest missionaries were converting Scandinavia, Prussia and Russia. The last heathen, in fact, was just about baptized in Europe to Christianity—such as it was—when agitation that led to the Reformation began to stir throughout the Church. Protestantism was slow in going to the heathen, but the Jesuits, with glowing zeal, penetrated China, India, and North and South America, to gain for the Church in foreign lands what she had lost at home. The present century shows the growth of far-reaching missionary activity among the Protestant Churches, and the outlook is toward a marvellous future. Max Müller* finds only three historic missionary religions, viz., Buddhism, Mohammedanism and Christianity. The first, as missionary, has long been dead. Its founder prophesied that in five thousand years it would disappear from off the earth.† The second is the “sick man,” both among nations and religions.

Christianity accordingly, as the fittest historic survivor, stands alone—the one essentially missionary religion of earth. Towards its final victory apostolic circumstances are now repeated in larger and more glorious outline. The nations are open to the gospel as never before. International law reaches farther than ever did Roman rule. Steam on land and sea, and telegraph girdling the world, send missionaries forth in a way Paul or Ansgar never dreamed of. English is spoken more widely than Greek ever was. Christianity, planted in every land, with wealth and learning, and the powers of the world

* *Lecture on Missions*, New York, 1874.

† Cf. Wordsworth, *The One Religion*, New York, 1882, p. 275.

largely under its control, may expect such things in the near future as Church Historian never yet chronicled. To trace the marvellous growth of God's kingdom on earth—overturning principalities and powers, religions and nationalities, philosophies and armies, in its peaceful progress, forms the first important chapter in Ecclesiastical History.

2. HISTORY OF DOCTRINE.

The History of Doctrine as a distinct study was first treated scientifically about the beginning of this century, and is one of the ripest fruits of Protestant learning. But the earliest writers upon it were unfortunately too much under negative and philosophic prepossessions to settle it upon a proper basis; hence, the subjective and arbitrary mode of treatment first in vogue has scarcely yet given way to a true Scriptural and rational method. Such merely dialectic treatment of church doctrines was partly the result of religious deadness and neglect of evangelical teaching, and partly an inherited tendency.

The writers of the eighteenth century, Walch, Semler, etc., had recognized the history of doctrine as a separate study, but regarded it as the history of doctrinal opinions in the Church. Whether right or wrong—the views of Athanasius or of Arius—it was but individual opinion, which through a council or Emperor's favor, happened to be made the creed of the Church or branded as heresy.

Schleiermacher and Neander did much to change this view and lead to the sounder position of Hagenbach and Thomasius,

What then is Church Dogma, and what is meant by its history? We shall have occasion in another connection to notice the different methods of treating Church History—methods which show themselves most prominently in regard to their discussion of doctrine—and shall, therefore, confine ourselves here to a plain statement of what seems to be the just Protestant view of this question.*

It is christian doctrine which we discuss. Such doctrine is received by revelation of God, and is a matter of faith. There can, therefore, be nothing unfolded legitimately in a history of dogma which is not contained in the Holy Scriptures.

But these teachings of Scripture are absolute truth only in their contents, and not in their form. Their apprehension by the Church and their expression are human. Here, then, we have a changeless, God-given leaven which is to work through the Church, and come more and more to the surface in the expression of an ever-widening apprehension of divine truth.

In the Scriptures we have all treasures of wisdom and knowledge—in the life of Christ, in the Apostolic history, and in the Epistles to the Churches. As the Church studies these things the truth in its fullness breaks more and more upon her. As she walks through her treasure house she comes upon new riches, new perspectives of lovely things, and so beauties, unnoticed before, shine forth. This growing consciousness and clearer articulation of what she always

*For much in this section see the valuable article, *Dogmengeschichte*, in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopædie*, Leipzig, 1878.

held by faith—this successive increase in knowledge—forms the history of doctrine.

As is quite natural our attention is fixed in the Scriptures, first upon facts; then later follows the apprehension of the underlying doctrines. God teaches in connection with some historic example, and it is only as we live our way through the example that we become fit to grasp the deep principle involved in it. Similarly incidental occurrences in the history of the Church were the occasion of this or that dogma being brought into universal consciousness. Attacks upon certain doctrines led to a clearer apprehension of them and of their relation to others. Thus both absolute and relative changes take place in the form of doctrines and constitute part of their history; for, when more careful study removes a false impression, the form of the teaching must be recast: and when new information is added and our conscious creed enlarged, the proportion and perspective of parts must also be modified. All this, of course, does not involve any change in the truths of the doctrines themselves, or that the Church held different saving doctrines at different periods of her history.

Great national peculiarities have also influenced the order in the history of doctrine: thus the Greek Church developed Theology proper; the Roman, Anthropology; and the Germanic, Soteriology. And yet this order seems logical and necessary as well as historical.

This branch of study may be said to include in general the history of the church doctrine, the his-

tory of heresies and the history of symbolics, or of the formulated confessions of the churches.

It begins with the close of the New Testament Scriptures—though Baur carries it into the New Testament itself, where he finds doctrinal growth, and Kliefoth makes it begin in the third century—and ends, according to some, with a formulated church confession, according to most, is still in progress.

It is a study neglected by mystics, and sometimes through mistaken zeal, by christian workers; but has been always recognized by strong men—e. g., the Magdeburg Centurions—as the soul and form of the history of the Church, and as of great apologetic value. Its logical growth and consistency proclaim its essential truth; and its decisive voice speaks in no uncertain tones against the cry for short creeds that utter nothing emphatically. It teaches that the Church is ever growing in knowledge—not in agnosticism—and that in a very wholesome way, men may ever plead rather for an increase than a decrease of the confessed faith once delivered to the saints.

3. HISTORY OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT AND DISCIPLINE.

This is a very wide field. It discusses the nature of the Apostolic Church with its simple presbyterio-diaconate organization; shows how persecution from without and heresy from within led to stricter ecclesiastical unity; compares Synagogue and Greek municipal government to see what the Church bor-

rowed from each; points out how the Jewish idea of priesthood crept in during the second century, and how Cyprian helped to make the Church Episcopal, and taught of such a Church, *extra ecclesiam nulla salus*; describes how the Church united with the State, and how Augustine taught it that such was right, the Episcopal established church of Cyprian becoming the imperial established church of Augustine; traces the relation of two bodies under one head—the emperor—in the east, and under two conflicting heads—the pope and the emperor—in the west; and so follows the outer and inner organization of the church through Congregational, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Papal, Ultramontane forms, and learns the lesson of each.

It notices how some churches—as the Calvinistic and Roman Catholic—claim to find their constitutions essentially in the Scriptures,* and make it an article of faith; while others—as the Lutheran—consider it more a matter of christian expediency. It traces the change in the Roman Catholic Church which, in the Middle Ages made it an institution dispensing sacraments, through which alone flowed salvation; and on the other hand describes how Protestantism, setting out from the idea of the individual and not of the institution, took the power of rule and discipline away from the clergy to share it with the laity. This liberty is seen in the various constitutions of the reformed communions. The decisions of this governing Church form a vast literature.

*Cf. Herzog's R. E. 1857, VII p. 686, and for some broader and very sensible remarks, the Introduction to Prof. Ladd's *Principles of Church Polity*, New York, 1882.

Canon law—the *corpus juris canonici*, etc.—falls to be studied here. Also, Papal bulls, concordats, which lead into the vexed question of the relations between church and state—decisions of councils—itsself a wide field as the vast folios of Mansi, etc., and the laborious histories of councils from Walch to Hefele show—church confessions, in their bearing on church rule, in short, the whole framework of a spiritual kingdom is to be treated.

Our century is turning more attention to this question of the nature and constitution of the Church than was formerly customary. Extremes neglect such a subject: that of rationalism on the one hand, which regards it as a matter of little moment; and that of pietism on the other, which in zeal for the substance forgets the importance of the form. But thoughtful christians are seeing, that of the two branches of theology left the modern Church for consideration—viz., Eschatology and Ecclesiology—the latter is by no means the less important. The most valuable recent contribution to the history of this question deals chiefly with the early Church. Hatch, in the Bampton lectures for 1880,* maintains, (1) that the growth of the constitution of the early church was much slower than is usually supposed, and (2) that the elements of this constitution in general and in particular were already all in existence in the civil and social relations of the Roman Empire. His positions will not be unquestioned, but his book will give a fresh impulse to this branch of Church History.

**The Organization of the early Christian Churches*, London, 1881.

The inner government of the church is exercised most powerfully in the matter of discipline. The history of the exercise of this necessary right forms a wide study. Church membership implies union with Jesus Christ by faith; it is supported by the Word and Sacraments, and results in holy living. The unworthy, either by false doctrine, insubordination or impure living, may be excluded from the outward means of grace till brought to repentance. Here we meet the perplexing question of the lapsed in the early Church; the four degrees of approach through which the fallen were restored; the question of confessors and their *libelli*; the reaction against lax discipline in Montanism, in the Novatians and the Donatists, who denounced the State Church as worldly and winking at sin.

Here occur the *libri poenitentiales* of the Middle Ages, a kind of spiritual arithmetic which reckoned how penances could be most quickly and comfortably paid; the question of indulgences with the opposition of quiet christians, of the Flagellants and finally of Luther; the terrors of anathema and Papal interdict; the privileges of the clergy—a priest could at most only be degraded to a layman, while the pseudo-Isidorian decretals make the Bishop almost unassailable; the relation of Church courts and decisions to the civil authority; the Inquisition—a discipline of rack and dungeon to force men to repent; the monastic orders of the Middle Ages—largely used to uphold the popes in their rule; and the tremendous rights of the keys as exercised in the confessional, the mass, and pains of purga-

tory. The Protestant churches differ in their views of discipline. The Calvinistic consider it to belong to the being of the Church. The Lutheran regard it more as a part of the pastoral office, and to be used for the protection of the Church in the use of the sacraments.* Diversity of action also arises according as the Church is regarded as a body of believers, or a religious community in which both wheat and tares grow together until the harvest.

4. HISTORY OF CHURCH LIFE.

The theory of the christian life constitutes the department of morals, and its growth and comprehension give the history of christian ethics. English writers discuss this topic more as a distinct subject, as moral philosophy; German theologians prefer to treat it in connection with dogmatics, and hence speak of christian ethics.† Its foundation is, of course, in the New Testament, as is also, in a certain sense, the first period of its history. Hence Thoma in his prize essay‡—the first scientific treatment of the history of ethics in the time of the New Testament—speaks of “a historic development of the doctrine of morals” in the New Testament, which he finds (1) in the words of Christ, (2) in the writings of Paul, and (3) in the teachings of the generations which followed.

*Cf. Article, *Kirchenzucht* in Herzog's R. E. VIII., p. 91, 1880.

†Cf. Luthardt's “*Christliche Ethik*” in Zoeckler's *Encyklopaedie der Theologischen Wissenschaften*. 1883.

‡*Geschichte der Christlichen Sittenlehre in der Zeit des Neuen Testaments*. Haarlem, 1879.

The practical naturally here preceded the theoretical; in fact, the earliest attempts to generalize on morals in the Church—e.g., in the school of Alexandria—were influenced largely, especially in their form, by Greek philosophy, and were not a natural deduction of principles from practice within the Church itself. The four cardinal virtues and the three theological virtues dwelt brotherly together.

Men like Clement and Origen saw no longer in heathen virtue a mere demoniac caricature of the christian, but fragments of the scattered Word, which those having the full revelation might recognize and thereby lead the Greeks to Christ.

What is understood in general by the history of church morals may be gathered from an outline of the latest work at hand on the subject—History of Christian Ethics, by Prof. Gass.*

He follows the usual divisions into periods, and gives first a full illustration of the popular tendency and moral tone of the age in question. He then notices the ethical literature of the period as set forth in the works of the leading theologians. Finally, we are brought to moral principle, or moral science, in so far as such can be spoken of in the pre-Reformation Church. The peculiar ethical coloring until the time of Bede was that of Monasticism and Augustinianism. The broader view had grown dim. There is no salvation, even for Augustine, except in connection with the visible Church, and true morality rests largely in her positive precepts.

* *Geschichte der Christlichen Ethik*, I. Bd. *Bis zur Reformation*. Berlin, 1881.

In the Middle Ages we meet the first systematic works on morals in the writings of Abelard and Thomas Aquinas—but even then only as an appendix to dogmatics. With the growth of sacerdotalism fine distinctions were drawn between *concilia* and *præcepta*; ritual and dogma were made equally matters of morals, and a vast system of casuistry grew up in the interests of the priesthood. Hence doctrines that were intellectually absurd or contradictory were accepted and enforced as moral discipline, and just because the good is naturally repulsive and unwelcome to the wicked heart. Thus intellectual and ethical questions were confounded in a system of priestcraft. The ethical currents in Roman Catholicism were threefold: (1), the sacramentarian-clerical, (2), the ascetic-monastic, and (3), the civic moral system of the laity. The first of these finally prevailed.

The rise and growth of Monasticism in the early Church were clearly connected with the religious life of that period.

The importance of this subject has led, recently, to fresh investigation of the first monastic appearances in the Church, and to results somewhat different from those ordinarily accepted. Weingarten* holds, though not largely followed, that Monasticism did not rise until the fourth century. The *Vita Antonii* is a post-Athanasian fiction. Paul of Thebes is unhistoric, unknown in the life of Antony, and first found in Hieronymus. Lucius has about

**Der Ursprung des Moenchthums im nachconstantinischen Zeitalter.* Gotha, 1877; and his article, *Moenchthum*, in Herzog's R. E., 1883.

proved* that Philo's work, *De vita contemplativa*, is but "an apology written under the name of Philo about the end of the third century in favor of christian asceticism." Monasticism arose from hermit life, and from ideas of subduing the body—the material. It did not spring from christian, but from heathen thought, perhaps from cynicism. Neither did it rise through persecution. There was a heathen monastic life in Egypt, in connection with the worship of Serapis, before the christian. This is proved, we are told, from lately-discovered papyrus inscriptions in the Vatican and in the British Museum.

Hatch† agrees largely with Weingarten, and admits Egyptian and perhaps Buddhist influences in early monasticism, but finds the chief ground in the Church itself, in the longing for holiness amid a degenerate age, in the desire to find in crucifixion of the flesh a substitute for the persecutions now past, and in the spirit of the time which laid great emphasis on the "antithesis between mind and matter, the unreal world of sense and the real world of spirit."

To trace the more practical, everyday side of christian life is to show how it gave the individual a new standard of morality based on love—how it purified home, refined manners, elevated woman, softened laws, taught charity, ennobled science, chastened art, spared captives, undermined slavery—in a word, as Schmidt has beautifully shown in

**Die Therapeuten und ihre Stellung in der Geschichte der Askese.* Strassburg, 1879.

†*The Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, 1880, Chap. VI.

his well-known essay,* turned the moral and social world upside down, and completely transformed the Roman empire.

On the other side, this study must show the influence of the world on the Church, and the ebb and flow of the battle for holiness through the years. Perhaps a better illustration of how the kingdom of light tried to repel the kingdom of darkness cannot be found than in the decisions of the Council of Elvira,† A. D. 306. Persecutions had ceased, and it was simply the opposition of corruption, cruelty, and every heathenish custom which the Church was called to meet. And what is here decided history repeats in the synods which Boniface summoned in France, in the great reform councils of Constance and Basle, and in the earnest movement in the sixteenth century that shook the power of Rome and exposed her uncleanness. Elvira condemns sacrifice to idols after baptism as a capital offense, excluding forever from communion.

A woman who killed her slave in anger, if intentionally, was not to be received for seven years; if by accident, after five years. A second fall into adultery forever excluded from the Church. A procuress was to be shut out forever. Roman influence is seen in milder treatment of the man than of the woman, though the Synod is not always consistent. A widow falling into sin was to suffer fivefold the

**Essai sur la société civile dans le monde Romain et sur sa transformation par le christianisme.* Strassburg, 1853.

Cf. also the interesting book, *Gesta Christi*, 1882.

†Cf. Dale's work, *The Synod of Elvira*, London, 1882, where the decisions of the Synod are given in the Appendix.

punishment of a virgin. We meet here the first official decision in reference to a deceased wife's sister. A man marrying her was suspended from communion for five years.

The theatre was a sink of iniquity;* hence actors returning to the stage were excommunicated. Marriages with heathen were forbidden, also with heretics and Jews. A man who gave his daughter to a heathen priest was to be excluded forever. Neither layman nor priest was to take interest on money. The councils of Nice, etc., limit this to the clergy. Gambling, with dice, involved suspension from communion for a year. The clergy were punished more severely than the laity. If they fell into immorality they were never to be restored to communion. They were not to marry after ordination, except the lower clergy. Second marriage, or marriage with a widow, was discountenanced. Abortion—a deeply-rooted evil—infanticide, witchcraft, lighted tapers at the grave, and necromancy are condemned—"for the souls of the saints must not be disquieted."

Of especial interest is the canon (xxxvi) forbidding pictures in churches, *placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur*.

The dreadful fall in moral temperature which followed the absorption by the Church of the numerous pagan nations may be seen in the writings of Hieronymus for Italy, the work of Salvianus, *De Gubernatione Dei*, for France, and the mediæval writers in general for their period.

*Cf. Dale, Chap. IV.

Pietism was born in Germany, in the midst of the fearful wildness and immorality which followed the thirty years' war, and its writers give most shocking pictures of the license and corruption which followed upon Protestant liberty and deliverance from old restraints.

5. THE HISTORY OF WORSHIP.

This branch of Church History touches a number of interesting points which find full treatment only in special works on Christian Antiquities or Christian Archæology. The narrower field includes such subjects as:

(1) *Sacred Buildings and Places.*

It describes the rise and development of church architecture, its governing ideas—built upon the cross, and its upward tendency, pointing to victory in Heaven—its symbolism, what nave, and choir, and apse, and transept tell in the ear of history. It discusses the Roman Basilica—showing, perhaps, that it was not so direct a model for the christian Church as some suppose; it describes the rise of Gothic places of worship, with their branching columns almost literally like the groves, God's first temples, changed to stone; it shows how, with the Reformation and the resumption of preaching, the christian edifice became a light, airy auditorium. We hear, also, of the Baptistery, its introduction and use: of *gazophylakia*, where sacred vessels were kept; of chapels, mortuary as in the catacombs,

private, etc. The history of cemeteries and places of pilgrimage, especially Palestine with its crusaders, forms a very interesting part of this study.

(2) *Sacred Times.*

It considers further the sacred seasons set apart for worship. Clement, of Alexandria, tells us that the Church followed the synagogue hours in its services on the Lord's day. We are led to notice how Sabbath and Sunday subsisted together till the latter absorbed the former. We are introduced to the Easter controversies which almost rent the Church asunder as early as the second century. We learn of the rise of Christmas in the third century, and then we follow the growing number of festivals which soon fill a stout calendar of holy commemoration.

(3) *Church Ceremonies.*

Another part of its work is to describe the sacred rites connected with worship during the periods of Church History. It traces the more public service for all the worshippers and seeks to show the origin of the Christian mysteries for believers only.

I. SACRAMENTS.

It treats of baptism; to whom it was administered in the early Church, asks why chiefly to adults, why at midnight, why in a separate building, why naked, why so long deferred, and if it is true that *primum omnes baptizabant*. It gives the history of the Lord's

Supper, notices the dispute between east and west as to the kind of bread, describes the reasons and dangers of nocturnal communion, shows why water was mixed with the wine, explains private communion so early as the second century, notices the exclusion of children from communion in the twelfth century, tells how the scholastic doctrine of concomitance took the cup from the laity, and traces the growth of the sacrificial idea, fixed by Gregory I. as propitiatory, formulated later into transubstantiation, and in the Mass made the very centre of Roman Catholic worship.

2. LITURGIES.

The place of the Scriptures in Divine service must be noticed, also the history of the sermon—at first more historic and didactic, then oratorical and looking like Paul of Samosata for applause, later allegorical and jejune, in the Middle Ages catenic and ready to perish.

Prayer in the Church, or the history of liturgies forms no small field of enquiry. At first there were oral petitions, then, perhaps, the germ of a written service in the *diptychs*, or lists of those to be prayed for during the eucharist service; later came the Greek liturgy of St. James, after which we have those of St. Mark, Basil and Chrysostom; and in the Latin Church that of Gregory and the Gallican. Thus the different national churches, starting from some petty common outline, e. g. such as is contained in the Apostolic Constitutions, framed their own separate liturgies.

The history of Protestant Liturgies—English, Lutheran and Reformed—showing how truly they mirrored the thoughts of their times, now more, now less papal, at one time warm and devotional, at another chilled by Kant's philosophy and Rationalism, forms a most important chapter. The life of the German churches might be fairly followed by a study of the numerous church *agenda* which the different States adopted at different periods.

3. HYMNOLOGY.

The history of hymnology and music in the Church is treated here. From the hymns to Christ of which Pliny speaks and the earliest hymn preserved—that by Clement of Alexandria—through the Syrian church, where Jacob of Sarug and Ephraem Syrus wrote thirty thousand stanzas, this study moves. It describes the artificial verses of Gregory of Nazianze and Basil, and the more practical and solemn Latin hymns from those of Ambrose and Prudentius to the *Dies irae*. It notices how sacred songs in the vernacular became a power in the hands of Luther, how much Germany owes to her eighty thousand hymns, and how Protestantism everywhere with its Ambrosian-like music and sweet songs has outsung Roman Catholicism—still sealing the lips of its congregations while a choir of priests and trained singers render the *cantus choralis* of Gregory the first.

4. OBLATION.

A very important part of worship is the oblation. This was especially connected with the Lord's Supper and indicated the gratitude of the believer. All sorts of natural products were presented in the early Church as first fruits to God, and were employed for the support of the clergy, the poor, prisoners and orphans. Thus the Church taught that the rich gave to God and the poor received from God*; and such gifts were consecrated by the word of God and prayer. The unbelieving and heretics might not present these thank offerings. The eight dollars which Marcion contributed were given back to him when he fell from the Church.

It is the pleasing work of this study to trace the Christian liberality of the patristic church. About it centred worship and loving labors. Hatch finds it† a matter of such influence that he traces to it the rise of the Episcopacy. The office of Bishop developed from that of church treasurer, steward of the wide reaching charities of the christian society.

Cyprian tells of a collection in Carthage of \$4,000 to deliver christians, captive in Numidia, and Eusebius says the church in Rome supported fifteen hundred widows and poor at a cost of about \$18,000 a year. It will be hard to find such cases excelled in the charity of the nineteenth century.

This study must trace further the growth of error in connection with the oblation offered at the Eu-

*Cf. The very interesting work of Uhlhorn, *Die Christliche Liebeshätigkeit in der alten Kirche*. Stuttgart, 1882, Cap. III.

†*Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, Lecture II.

charist: how it grew to be considered the third great means of forgiveness—with baptism and martyrdom—how it hardened into legalism till prayer was not considered heard without alms, and how it was made in behalf of the dead and grew into payment for Masses for the repose of their souls. It must then trace the greed of later ages with their tithes and indulgences and simony and a priestcraft that served the altar for the sake of the gifts.

In this connection the matter of clerical support forms an interesting subject of historic enquiry.

Other points to be noticed under history of worship are the introduction of bells and organs in the Early Middle Ages, and how church life clustered about both.

Then the symbolism of worship. Why the catechumen turned to the west to renounce the Devil, and to the east to pray, and to the south if called to read the Scriptures. Why candles were lit, as Hieronymus mentions, when the Bible was to be read. The elaborate ritual of the altar. The various uses of the cross, and how it was opposed by such early Protestants as the Paulicians. Such topics also as extreme unction and sacrament to the dying, marriage, exorcism, burial of the dead, etc., would fall here for discussion.

(4) *Church Officers.*

The clergy and other officers occupied in conducting worship also require some notice here. Archbishops and Bishops, priests and deacons and archdeacons and sub-deacons, lectors and thurifers,

and acolytes and cantors and confessors and *ostiarii* and *fossore*s, etc., in all their various places and relations, rights and privileges, vestments and duties form a curious section in the history of church ritual.

PERIODS OF CHURCH HISTORY.

But our subject not merely has a logical comprehension, it has further from its very nature an extension in time, the study of which must form a very essential part of Church History. The earlier method—until Mosheim—was simply to divide the material chronologically according to centuries. This was very arbitrary and unnatural, hence the later method arranges the contents of History in periods according to great governing features.

As to the lesser sections there is diversity of view but all see the naturalness of the general distribution into early, mediaeval and modern Church History, the first ending with Gregory I. (Baur) or with Charlemagne (Hase, etc.), the second with the Reformation (1517), and the third extending to the present time.

The Apostolic period is usually dealt with as introductory and beginning at Pentecost, though Rothe starts from the fall of Jerusalem.

These three divisions may be again divided into two periods each: the first, by the accession of Constantine to sole empire (324), the second by the rise of the Papacy to supreme power (1216), and the third by the end of the religious war in Germany (1648).

We thus have:

I. THE PATRISTIC PERIOD.

This ends about A. D. 800. It is the age of the classic Roman Empire, and church life moves within Greek and Latin culture.

1. The first sub-period, until A. D. 324, shows the Church in a life and death struggle with Roman heathenism. The persecutions were at first desultory and not on principle (70–200), then came toleration by philosophic rulers on principle (200–250), and finally followed persecution on principle (250–312), ending in the triumph of the cross. The literature of this period is naturally nearly entirely apologetic. Gnostic speculation distracted the churches from within as persecution did from without, but both contributed to the formation of one holy Catholic Church, to the collection of the New Testament books, and to clearer views of essential doctrine.

2. The second sub-period—324 to 800—sees the Church in union with the Empire. It was favored by Constantine and his sons, and made the state religion by Theodosius (392). Outwardly the Church met the storms of northern invasion, and took captive by the gospel the fierce conquerors of the Empire. Inwardly we find the growth parallel to the state, and everywhere towards organization and fixed forms. The great doctrines of theology and anthropology were now framed into a system. Liturgies arose. The hierarchy took shape with the Bishop of Rome leading. The synods became œcumenical; and the Church began to strive, in the Roman Catholic spirit,

to be the great teacher also of culture and civilization. The shock of Mohammedanism was felt, especially in the East, and the seeds of schism were sown between the Greek and Latin confessions.

2. THE MEDIAEVAL PERIOD, 800-1517.

The history here moves within the Holy Roman Empire of German nationality, and Roman-German Catholicism reigns supreme.

3. The third sub-period, 800-1216, from Charlemagne to Innocent III, is distinguished by the rise of the Papacy to its highest glory, and the subjection of Emperor and Kings, Church and State to the Roman Pontiff. Monasticism, from Gregory I, on, become more and more a support of the Papacy. Scholasticism arose to prove by logic the doctrines which the Church had declared orthodox. The crusades, for the first time, united Europe, under the idea of Christendom, and made the Pope generalissimo of the armies of God. Art and chivalry, letters and law, business and amusements—all stood in the service of the vicar of God, and Plato's idea of the world being ruled by philosophers was perhaps never nearer fulfilment than in the Middle Ages.

4. The fourth sub-period, 1216-1517, from Innocent III to the Reformation, shows a gradual decline of the Papacy. It rose steadily for about two hundred years—from Hildebrand, (d. 1085) to Innocent III (d. 1216); it remained on the table-land of supremacy for about a century—from Innocent III to Boniface VIII (1303); it then declined, through two hundred years, towards the Reformation—the

first hundred being spent in the captivity in Avignon for seventy years and the thirty years schism, and the second in shaking the Papacy by the great reform Councils of Pisa, Constance and Basle. This decline of the power of the Popes was accompanied on all sides by demands for a Reformation. Various influences now appear working towards this end. Some of these were:

(1.) The fall of Scholasticism, which spread a spirit of freedom and doubt.

(2.) The growth of mysticism which brought the individual and the inner life into prominence, to the neglect of Church and formal doctrines, and clergy and ritual. Such powerful works as *Deutsche Theologie* and the *Imitatio Christi* were the fruits of this tendency.

(3.) The revival of learning. Printing was invented, and before Luther began to preach there were seventeen translations of the Bible published in Germany. France and Italy, and Bohemia and England also had such translations before the Reformation began. Classical studies everywhere made men impatient of arbitrary priestly injunctions and immoralities.

(4.) Reformers before the Reformation, e. g. Wycliffe in England, Huss in Bohemia, Savonarola in Italy, etc.

(5.) The outer movement of reform councils, the University of Paris, the efforts of emperors and kings, and representations of national assemblies finally met the inner movement, the evangelical spirit which roused Huss and Wycliffe; and in a man like Luther,

and in the beginning of the sixteenth century, a fulness of development was reached which made the Reformation possible.

3. THE MODERN PERIOD, 1517-1883.

This period presents the conflict of Catholicism and Protestantism, and the separate development of each.

5. The fifth sub-period, 1517-1648, from the Reformation to the peace of Westphalia, traces the rise and partial victory of Protestantism; also, the Catholic reaction, led especially by the Jesuits, and the fresh establishment of the Papal Church.

6. The sixth sub-period, 1648 to the present time, deals chiefly with the history of Protestantism, noticing especially its divisions and doctrinal conflicts. A prominent place is occupied by the struggle between orthodox conservatism and religious independence.

Kurtz, in the last edition of his *Church History*,* thus outlines the modern period. He describes the sixteenth century as the time of reformation and reaction; the seventeenth as that of orthodoxy, pietism, and Catholic revival; the eighteenth as the outbreak of deistic, rationalistic, naturalistic opposition; the nineteenth, as the time of division, of revived rationalism and ultramontaniam, and the exaltation of antichristian unbelief, pantheism, materialism and communism.

**Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 8. Zum Theil neu ausgearb. Auflage, II. Bd. Seit der Reformation, 1881.

CHAPTER II.

METHODS OF CHURCH HISTORY.

Here very much depends upon the idea of the Church and of its History with which the writer sets out. And this idea stands in vital connection with general views respecting Christianity, its nature, origin and contents.

So much is this the case that Baur thinks the different methods of writing Church History reflect the prevailing theological thought of their time and may be classed chronologically and in a sense parallel with the history of doctrine. He finds* six methods of regarding Church History corresponding to six periods through which that history has passed: (1.) the old Catholic view represented by Eusebius and his successors to Nicephorus; (2.) the old Protestant method of the Magdeburg Centuries; (3.) the Roman Catholic and Protestant school which opposed the Centuries—seen in Baronius and Arnold; (4.) “the gradual transition from a dualistic view of the world to the idea of historic development,” represented by Mosheim, Semler and Walch, but fully by Spittler, Planck and Henke; (5.) the effort after objectivity as set forth by Neander, Gieseler and Hase (b.1800); (6.) and the speculat-

**Die Epochen der Kirchlichen Geschichtschreibung*, 1852.

ive and crowning method of Baur himself, showing the history of the Church as the realization in history of its idea—especially in its two chief forms of dogma and constitution—viz., the unity of God and man.

Such Hegelian treatment plainly does violence to facts, and sacrifices truth to some general idea.

The leading tendencies and methods observable in Church Histories are:

I. THE OBJECTIVE METHOD.

The narrative, the objective is the most natural. It is the style of Herodotus, of the Acts of the Apostles of Eusebius and the Patristic Historians.

Mosheim brought order into this method and prepared for a more thorough treatment of the material. Such a form of writing may be selected by men of very different schools. The rationalist, who sees in the Church but a series of human occurrences, and the materialist, who considers it a growth like to that of an animal or tree, are often inclined simply to relate the course of events as if nothing further was to be told. Narrow minds in the Church, both orthodox and skeptical, are fond of this style of history—especially in reference to doctrines. The one will receive nothing unless the very form in which it is now taught can be found in Scripture. The other claiming to be Biblical, reject the trinity, divinity of Christ, inspiration, etc., as mere accidental things in History which must be

scraped off Biblical theology. Persons and circumstances, it is held, added them to the truth.*

2. THE PRAGMATIC METHOD.

But the historian feels further the impulse of "*Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*," and in his efforts to trace the principles underlying facts gives us the pragmatic or philosophical method of writing history. This does not dispense with the narrative; it supplements it. Schleiermacher distinguished a triple unity in History—the chronological, which puts results of research side by side, the pragmatic, which derives the later from the earlier, and the organic, which deduces what follows from a state of beginning, which for Church History is the New Testament and Apostolic Age. But as in the first case, there is but a mass of details which yield little stimulus and instruction, in the second—if carried too far, there lies the danger of an arbitrary subjectivity. Baur's Church History is a case in point. Men and morals and Christian life are sacrificed to a dead idea which moves like a glacier through the valley of History grinding love, and prayer and individual hearts to powder.

Such a method usually regards Christianity as just one phase of universal religion and differing only in degree from Buddhism or Parseeism. Accordingly Church History is a part of the History of the World and the History of Religion. But in a very important respect it is a branch of neither.

*Cf. Hagenbach's *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 5 ed. Leipzig, 1867, ¶ 10. Also in English, *History of Doctrine*, T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh.

The Church is not a religious society beside others. It contains *the* religion. Others are human, proceeding from man's spiritual need; Christianity is divine, and by its heavenly fulness of facts satisfies the hunger of the soul.* The factors in this history are the Holy Spirit and man, and full account must be taken of both.

The philosophical method usually overlooks these things and hence many of the historic sermons and disquisitions governed by it might, with very little change be applied to Confucianism or Brahminism. On the other hand it has taught that no form of church life is unimportant. It influenced Neander, though leading the reaction against it, to find the central thought in Church History in the present life of Christ in His people. Taught by it we can appreciate Arnold's one-sided history in which he finds the true Church chiefly among the sects and heretics; and be warned against Milner, who considers Church History to be simply the story of "the succession of pious men," which he considered the Church.

3. THE TRADITIONAL METHOD.

This is followed by Roman Catholic writers and a few Protestants, as some high Lutherans who put symbolics and dogmatics as an introduction to Church History. History is for them a tube through which the past is shot down to the present. Especially is this so in reference to doctrine.

*Cf. the Article, *Kirchengeschichte* in Herzog and Plitt's, R. E. Vol. vii. Leipzig, 1880, pp. 735-6.

The system of dogma was given by God at first as a new law, to be simply transmitted. It has not arisen through the work of the Church, and is subject to no increase or decrease. It is only to be kept free from heresy. Synods and councils simply defended doctrine from error.

4. THE THEOLOGICAL-CRITICAL METHOD.

This aims at being perfectly impartial, and combining all that is true in other views. It makes allowance for the influence of circumstances and persons, and gives what is natural its full place. It seeks to trace causes and learn what ideas governed particular periods. It is traditional in that it finds nothing essentially new, and recognizes an unity of life through the History of the Church. It exercises faith, not superstition; it accepts the supernatural, but not the unnatural, and with all possible objectivity cherishes the subjectivity of deep sympathy with everything that is Christian and Divine.

The critical method lays great stress upon a thorough sifting of the historic material and a careful weighing of the evidence offered. Following the inductive method, and taught by such civil historians as Johann von Müller, Ranke, and Hallam, who have given us a science of history, the church historian sets himself to work to collect facts. This is a very difficult task, for the sources are wide, confused, and bewildering.*

*Cf. Hatch, chap. I.

Every student knows the vast mass of apocryphal literature produced, and worked over, and conglomerated by the early Church, until the fragments have lost authorship, date, and sometimes nationality and original language. It is enough to refer to the Clementine literature, the Apostolic Constitutions, and the pseudo writings that cluster about the New Testament and nearly every eminent Father. And yet, if the time and circumstances in which such works arose can be determined, they may be just as valuable to the historian as the narratives of Eusebius.

The Apostles' creed was not written by the Apostles, neither was the Athanasian creed written by Athanasius; but if it can be shown that they originated in the third and seventh centuries, they are valuable for the history of the periods in question.

The early Church was inclined to sacrifice historic detail to edification. The historian must therefore patiently distinguish between devotional statements and matters of fact. Heretics were regarded as not only wrong, but wicked, and their writings were destroyed by imperial command. Hence, the views of Marcion must be gathered from Tertullian's reply to him, and the work of Celsus can be known only in the quotations of Origen. The rule of Hillel, "judge not a man till you put yourself in his place,"* must be carefully observed here, especially as our sources for the most part tell but one side of the story.

Many of the works that survive can hardly be taken as the best or most typical of their time.

**Pirke Aboth*, 2, 5

The critical method must, therefore, seek to estimate a writing in its true historic setting. Facts must be viewed in their length—pragmatically as Schleiermacher put it—and in their breadth, or in relation to all the circumstances of their age. The prevalent may not necessarily be the true; an obscure reference may be of more value than a popular folio. Harnack, e. g., in his article Monarchianism in Herzog, 1883, thinks the original views in the Church were monarchianistic, and that the trinity is to be traced largely to later Platonism. The long controversy in the third and fourth centuries was “the struggle of Stoical Platonism for the supremacy in theology the history of the expulsion of the historic Christ through the pre-existent in dogmatics.” A wider study of the third century will probably show that this is not a case in point.†

One pleasant fruit of critical studies in the experience of Rationalists and Roman Catholics as well as in that of believing Protestants, has been unity of opinion respecting a number of questions and a broader charity in reference to all. Hefele, in his *History of Councils*, and Welzer and Welte in their *Kirchenlexicon* show a true catholic spirit.

Both rationalists and orthodox scholars now agree on the main features of the organization of early Church—scientific enquiry having overcome episcopal prejudice in the case even of the Englishmen Lightfoot and Hatch.

†Cf. the valuable work of Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*, Cambridge, 1882, p. 5 ff.

Reformed Jewish scholars no longer stoop to the falsehoods of the *Toledoth Jesu* but recognize Jesus of Nazareth as a noble figure in history—a man and a teacher of whom every Jew should be proud.

The true theological method is careful, on the other hand, while yielding all that is due to criticism, to defend liberty from license, and charity from indifference. With facts, and phenomena, and persons, and associations of time and space, and sifting and weighing of evidence it emphasizes Christianity as the Kingdom of God on earth and, its history as the perpetual and growing union of the Holy Ghost and believing souls, an ever renewed fulfilment of the words of Christ: "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

CHAPTER III.

AUXILIARY AND COLLATERAL HISTORIC STUDIES.

Our space will allow us to do little more than mention the chief auxiliary studies which claim the attention of the church historian, and dwell a little upon one or two which are of special interest at the present day.

I. INTRODUCTORY STUDIES.

(1). *Relation to General History.*

The study of Church History presupposes a knowledge of the general and political history of the world. Kurtz says Judaism prepared a religion for the world, and Gentilism prepared the world for that religion. To trace their historic relation both must be well known. For the world-historian christianity is an element of culture which must be considered as a factor in national life. For the church historian the wisdom and culture of the world appear as the mould in which christian love and life have often taken shape, and must be studied especially in reference to the form of religious manifestations.

The natural creeds with which christianity has come in contact must also be appreciated. Max Mueller finds here what he calls the science of Comparative Religion.

The early Church cannot be understood without knowing Greek philosophy, or the mediaeval without understanding the imperial system, or the modern without studying Hume and Kant and Hegel. Thus as Sulpicius Severus, Bede, the mediaeval chroniclers and the historians in Constantinople wrote national history to describe the life of the Church, so will it in an important sense continue to be.

(2). *The History of New Testament Times.*

This is a section of general history especially interesting to the church historian, and has only recently risen to the rank of an independent study. The first work on the subject, and giving it a name, was written by Schneckenburger (d. 1848)* in the first part of which he presents an interesting picture of the Roman Empire in the time of Christ. Schuerer's (b. 1844)† book followed, and limits the field to Judaism as the nation and religion that shaped the beginning of the new faith.

The third work‡—that of Hausrath (b. 1837)—covers the whole ground, Jewish, Heathen and Christian—including New Testament History, in its sweep.

The aim of this study—Hausrath has gone aside from it—is to give all information necessary to an understanding of the history contained in the New

* *Vorlesungen ueber neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 1862.

† *Lehrbuch der neutest. Zeitgeschichte*. Leipzig, 1874. (Liberal but the best work for the student).

‡ *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*. I *Die Zeit Jesu*, 1868. II *Die apostolische Zeit*, Heidelberg, 1872. (Rationalistic in tone). It is being translated and published by Williams & Norgate, Edinburgh.

Testament,—to provide its historic frame and background. It discusses later Jewish history, the schools of doctrine, the Synedrion, Synagogue and its ritual, religious life, education, the Jews in the Diaspora, Proselytes, the philosophy of Philo, etc. It further cuts a section down through the Roman world in the middle of the first century showing all the strata of civil, intellectual, moral and religious life which the new religion was to touch and transform.

(3). *New Testament History.*

Old Testament History is preëminently the revelation of God the Father. New Testament History traces the revelation of God the Son (the Gospels) and God the Holy Spirit (Acts and Epistles). A biography of Jesus cannot be written, yet his life forms the corner stone of Church History, to see which this study must sweep away mythical (Strauss, etc.), tendency (Volkmar, etc.), and negative views (Renan, etc.), to reach positiveness and faith. The Apostolic History gives an inspired commentary in word and deed on the life and work of Christ for the Church in all ages.

(4). *New Testament Theology.*

In close connection with New Testament History New Testament Theology must be understood. In tracing the history of christian doctrine we are led to notice a certain unfolding of inspired teaching within the New Testament itself.

As the church moved from the narrowest Judaism to the great gentile world—like Luke's writings beginning with Jerusalem and ending with Rome—it received broader doctrines and got wider views of cherished principles. A familiar division finds four stages of such development in the New Testament.*

(a). The Jacobine—the narrowest and most Jewish—represented by the Gospel of Matthew, the Epistle of James and, in a sense, the Apocalypse.

(b). The Petrine—less Jewish—seen in the Gospel of Mark and the Epistles of Peter and Jude.

(c). The Pauline, which preaches to both Jew and Gentile, is set forth in Paul's Epistles including Hebrews and in the Gospel of Luke.

(d). The Johannine—the broadest of all—the ideal view of Christ and his Church, seen in the Gospel and Epistles of John.

Perhaps a better division is that of Schulze.† The fulness of Jesus flowed to the Church through the Apostles John and Paul. "The necessary course of development of the Apostolic age and spirit compelled the disciples to cultivate from the spiritual sowing of Jesus just those central living thoughts which we find in their writings. Hence the way ordered by God for the Church to enter into the Gospel of Jesus lies through the Gospel of John and of Paul. The history of doctrine proves this. The doctrine of the Greek Church and Athanasius rests,

*Cf. Schmidt's *Theology of the New Testament*, T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh.

†Zoeckler, *Handbuch der theologischen Wissenschaften*, Noerdlingen, 1883. Vol. I., p. 562.

so far as Biblical and abiding, on the fourth Gospel; that of Augustine and Luther, on the Apostle Paul."

It is the work of the historian to trace the chronological and doctrinal relations of such a development, and so, having secured firm standing ground on New Testament soil, proceed to trace the missionary and dogmatic growth of the post-Apostolic Church.

2. AUXILIARY STUDIES.

(1). *Ecclesiastical Philology.*

To consult the Greek and Latin sources of Church History, these languages must be studied as changed by time, new ideas and national* dissolution. In sifting the sources almost all depends on fixing the date of a document, and often the language is the chief factor in the problem. For such a delicate purpose a very thorough knowledge of the language of the period is necessary. The student is not supplied with such aid here as in other branches of his work. There are Suicer's Thesaurus and the well-known glossaria, but critical, grammatical helps are still largely wanting; "the science of patristic philology has hardly yet begun to exist."*

(2). *Chronology.*

The deeper relation of events and movements to one another can be learned only after a careful investigation into their relations in time. This involves a study of the modes of reckoning employed, by Olympiads, or lives of consuls, or reigns

*Hatch, p. 6.

of emperors, or from the creation of the world, or the birth of Christ. And these eras are used with perplexing variations, e. g., Eusebius going back nearly two years in using the olympiadic year. Even after the christian era was adopted, through Dionysius exiguus, great diversity occurs in fixing New Year's day. In Constantinople the creation was put 5508 B. C., in Alexandria 5502, which was changed A. D. 285 to 5492. Then the church calendar, with its Easter divergencies, and saints' days, and moveable feasts, fluctuates for centuries, in its varying relation to the changing eras themselves

Hence in modern Church History chronology has become a very important branch, especially in the hands of the critical school and in the investigation of the first three centuries. Thus Lipsius (b. 1830)[†] says that a wish to fix some facts respecting heretical views in the second century led him into an enquiry which ended in the papal chronology for three hundred years. And about the first certain result he reached was that Peter never was in Rome, much less was first Roman Bishop.

(3). *Church Geography and Statistics.*

The two eyes of History are chronology, with which it sees through time, and geography, with which it looks through space. A student, with a work like Wiltsch's *Atlas Sacer* open before him, gets at a glance a knowledge of the spread of Christianity at the death of the Apostles and until Constantine (table 1), at the beginning of the VII. cen-

[†]*Chronologie der roemischen Bischoefe*, Kiel, 1869, Vorwort.

tury, (table 2), in 1073 (table 3), in 1216 (table 4), and at the time of the Reformation (table 5), such as no other method of study will give. This study shows at any period the relation of christianity to heathenism, the path of the Gospel through the earth, also notes where it touches Judaism; it traces further the extent of church jurisdiction, distinguishing dioceses of Bishops and Metropolitans, and giving their episcopal centres—at the same time marking the growth of Papal rule in Provinces and unto the temporal sovereignty.

And parallel with geography runs statistics. This does for any given period of Church History what the History of New Testament times does in general for the first century. It presents a picture of the Church throughout the earth in breadth and depth, describes its divisions, creeds, forms of government, relation to the State, numbers of members and adherents, how supported, what has been done for theological science, etc., as found in the century under review.

Schleiermacher, with his keen eye for theological encyclopaedia, first distinguished statistics as a separate branch of historic study, and delivered a course of lectures upon it. The first scientific working of the field appeared in Wigger's *Kirchliche Statistik*, 1842-4, 2 Bd.

(4.) *Christian Antiquities.*

This offers a wide field of great interest to the church historian. There is little in the vast works of Bingham and Augusti which does not shed some light upon his path. Architecture, painting, music,

poetry, domestic and religious customs, superstitions, theatricals, as the passion plays of the Middle Ages, all touch the work of Church History. Parts of this field have been very diligently cultivated by recent scholars.

Catacomb research, for instance, has entered upon a most interesting stage of development. The old, unscientific and dogmatic period ended about thirty years ago; the scientific and dogmatic still survives; but the scientific and historic is making itself daily more heard.*

Scholars talk no longer of the hidden catacombs, in which for three hundred years thousands of christians lived. But a solitary inscription in these abodes of the dead refers to them as places of refuge. They were entered from the public highway, and their broad portals were often imposing works of art. There were heathen and Jewish as well as Christian catacombs. De Rossi, at the head of the Papal commission for unearthing the catacombs, is the greatest living authority on this subject, and his great work, *La Roma Sotterranea Cristiana* has been reproduced in the *Roma Sotterranea* of Northcote and Brownlow in English, and in the German work of Kraus, bearing the same title. The dogmatic presupposition in De Rossi's school is that the pictures, statues, etc., in the catacombs, were intended to teach symbolically the great christian doctrines.

Victor Schulze, of Leipzig, represents the historic objective School of Archæology.† The thought of

* Cf. my article in the January number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Andover, 1883.

† Cf. his work, *Die Katakomben*, Leipzig, 1882

the catacombs, according to this view, moves within the narrow circle of grief for the dead and hopes of a glad resurrection. Pictures of persons refer to the deceased, or are taken from Bible history, and are not representations of the Church or its virtues.

An extreme freak of fancy has recently found Indian symbolism in Christian art. A. Lillie, in a book, "*Buddah and early Buddhism*," London 1881, thinks* the pictures in the catacombs contain the solar godman, etc. of Buddhism!

A very interesting part of church antiquities is monumental theology, especially christian inscriptions. The Reformation started such enquiries. In the sixteenth century about one thousand inscriptions were collected. But now we have gathered more than eleven thousand from before the seventh century, in Rome alone,† and further collecting and comparison make this one of the most flourishing of historic studies. The vast collections of Latin and Greek inscriptions, now being published‡ in Berlin, contain a large number of christian origin. Böckh's work gives thirteen hundred, beginning at number 8,606, in vol. 4, 1859. Other collections for Spain, France, Britain, Ireland, etc., apart, will be found referred to in the article in Smith. This wide material has not yet been gone through and sifted. Yet enough is learned to lead us to expect

* In Chap. xiii, *Buddhism in the Catacombs*.

† Cf. the article *Inscriptions in Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, by Smith and Cheetham, Boston Ed., 1875.

‡ *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*—including those of the first six centuries. Boeckh's *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum*, to the fifteenth century.

much more. Waddington thinks newly discovered inscriptions fix the death of Polycarp as early as 155 A.D.* It is claimed that the inscription, *igni gaude Christiane*, found in Pompeii points to Christians there at that early date. Club life and religious associations, which it is now held largely influenced the form of Church organization, find their clearest historic illustrations from epigraphical monuments. We learn from Jewish inscriptions that the numerous (seven at least) synagogues in Rome, during the first century had a purely congregational form of government.†

Hatch finds his chief support for the view that bishops arose from Church treasurers in monumental references.‡

A very practical and profitable method of archaeological aid in historic study has been recently applied in Germany, which might be wisely followed in this country. I refer to the establishment, in connection with the Theological Seminary, of a museum of christian antiquities. The earliest such effort was made in Berlin, by Prof. Piper,|| in 1849. In 1855 the theological faculty spoke of "the great importance of the Christian Museum." In 1863 it was endowed by the Prussian government. About \$5,000 has been spent for models of Basilicas and churches of the Romance and Gothic periods; for plaster casts of the chief objects in early church art, for relics, as

*Quoted in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, 1874, p. 303, 1879, p. 158.

†Cf. Schuerer's *Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom in der Kaiserzeit*, Pp. 41, with 45 inscriptions, Leipzig, 1879.

‡Cf. his *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, p. 37 ff.

||See his history of the work in *Zeitschrift fuer historische Theologie*, 1874; p. 449 ff.

lamps, ornaments, etc., found in the catacombs, for photographs of inscriptions and pictures, and for the literature of the subject, which forms a little library in connection with the museum. Prof. Piper has exercises in the museum for students, of Biblical antiquities, for students of Church History, and for students of religion and doctrine. A similar museum was started in Leipzig in 1876; and Kraus, the well-known archæologist, has just begun such a collection in Freiburg. It is hoped that a movement in this direction may be made before long in Chicago Theological Seminary.

3. COLLATERAL STUDIES.

These are such as involve an exact knowledge of Church History. We confine our attention here to a brief glance at those historic questions which revolve about the New Testament Scriptures.

(1.) *History of the New Testament Books.*

How this study runs into all ideas of the early church may be seen, for example, in Baur's Church History, in which his theory of the origin of the New Testament fills the second century with discussions about the rise of the Gospels, and traces the formation of the Catholic Church as well as its fluctuating canon to an irenicon between Petrine and Pauline theology. What Thoma says of Ethics is true of the other subjects involved: "A critically sifted history of early christian morals—a history

based on facts—can be written only after a comparatively assured literary history of early Christian writings has been produced.”*

Thirty years ago the Griesbach hypothesis of the Gospels, viz. : that Mark was a compilation of Matthew and Luke, and the theory that Mark's Gospel was the most original were represented by Baur and Ewald.

The Tuebingen leader must hold the Jewish Gospel as the oldest, the Pauline next and the neutral occupying the succession of reconciliation.

The later followers of Baur (d. 1860), as Hilgenfeld (b. 1823) and Köstlin (b. 1826) left his tendency theory for what Hilgenfeld calls a literary-historic hypothesis. Holtzmann (b. 1832) defends the priority of Mark: so do Ritschl (b. 1822) Reuss (b. 1804) Meyer (d. 1873) and the majority of German critics.

It seems now pretty generally accepted that the *Λόγια*, which formed the basis of Matthew's Gospel, were about the earliest portion of our synoptic records, and that a form of the Gospel of Mark, very like the present, was the earliest life of Christ, i. e., the Synoptics point to two chief sources indicated in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark.

Weiss ‡(b. 1827) does not recognize any difference of *Λόγια* and narratives. His *Urmatthäus* contained the earliest record without any such distinction—but did not have the account of the passion. Mark combined this first account with the sermons of Peter, in his Gospel. The present Mat-

* *Geschichte der christlichen Sittenlehre*, Einleitung, p. 3.

‡ *Leben Jesu* I Bd. Berlin, 1882.

they then arose from a working together of Mark and the *Urmatthäus*. Thus Matthew and Peter were the apostolic sources of our Gospels.

He defends, too, the fourth Gospel as from John, though recognizing ideal and historic elements in it.

The dates assigned the Gospels, too, have become more modest. Hilgenfeld puts the *Logia* of Matthew between A. D. 50-60, the present Matthew between 70-80, Mark between 80-100 and Luke between 100-110. John of course was later still. But Holtzmann places all the synoptics between 60-80.

It is interesting, too, to notice how the continued discussion has shifted the scene from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Galatians, in which Christ and his work were about lost sight of in questions about the Petro-Pauline factions, to the ground of the Gospels and the life of Jesus.

And this gradual approach to the sources has swept Strauss' mythical mist away and brought the historic Christ into great prominence. This is seen in Holtzmann's work on the Gospels which is almost a life of Christ, and in the elaborate life of Jesus, by Weiss. Baur thought the Resurrection could be quietly slipped by as indifferent in itself and the rise of christianity studied chiefly in the Apostolic period. But Schenkel after trying such a method in his character-outline of Christ has later about confessed that he does not know what to make of the resurrection of Jesus.

This centering study on the person of the Lord has given intense interest to the discussions concerning the fourth Gospel. And though the radical

school still reject it, the balance of evidence has been growingly in its favor. Perhaps its chief advance in our generation, in our knowledge of early Church History has been made respecting the gnostic systems of the second century. And from such sources evidence comes for the use of this Gospel. The *Philosophumena* ascribed to Hippolytus shows it was used in the school of Valentine; the conclusion of the Clementine Homilies also knows it, and Prof. Abbot has pretty clearly shown that it was known by Justin Martyr. The date has gone back from 160 A. D. (Volckmar) to 120-40 A. D. (Hilgenfeld) and then to 100-110 A. D. (Keim).

The latest liberal work on New Testament Introduction—the second edition of Samuel Davidson's well-known book—London, 1882, may be taken as a representative of the extreme position still held by some critics. It is largely a reproduction of Hilgenfeld's views. He follows Baur on the Gospels, though fixing the dates a little earlier, e. g.: Matthew 105, A. D., Luke 110, A. D., Mark 120, A. D., and John 150, A. D. To the four Epistles received by Baur as Pauline he adds 1 Thess., Philemon and Philipians. (So Hilgenfeld). The Epistle to the Hebrews was written apparently by Apollos about 66 A. D. The Apocalypse is a genuine work of the Apostle John. The Epistle of James is a Jewish-Christian work of about A. D. 70. The second Epistle to the Thessalonians is a work of Paul, but was interpolated with eschatological ideas about A. D. 69. The first Epistle of Peter arose, perhaps, A. D. 113. The Pastoral Epistles, in the first quarter of the second century. The Acts of the Apos-

ties was written by the author of the third gospel, soon after A. D. 120. The Epistle to the Colossians appeared about A. D. 120 in Asia Minor. That to the Ephesians was by another author, and composed, 130-140, A. D.

The first Epistle of John is older than the Gospel, and not from the same author. It was written about A. D. 130. A little later the second and third Epistle of John arose. Soon after 140 A. D. the Epistle of Jude appeared. And last of all the second Epistle of Peter about 170, A. D.

After all that has been said about the Acts of the Apostles being "a proposal for peace presented to the Judaists by the Pauline party,"* no historic reason has yet been urged which presents a stronger claim than that of Luke to its authorship. It is worthy of notice, too, that the latest critical commentary on this book by Nösgen† follows the important researches‡ of K. Schmidt in wresting it from the toils of the tendency criticism.

Critics are about agreed with Origen that the Epistle to the Hebrews is not by Paul. Any thing more definite it is hard to say.

Since the appearance of Holtzmann's work§ considerable discussion has taken place about the Pastoral Epistles. The latest and most important contribution|| is a keen criticism of the negative internal proofs, and a triumphant refutation of the greater part of them.

*Davidson: *An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament*. London. 1882. II., p. 159.

†*Commentar ueber die Apostelgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1882.

‡*Die Apostelgeschichte*, &c., 1 Bd., Erlangen, 1882.

§*Die Pastoralbriefe*, Leipzig, 1880.

||*Der erste Brief Pauli an Timotheus*, von H. Koelling. 1 Thl. *Die allgemeinen Fragen*. Berlin, 1882.

Such an orthodox man as Godet thinks the second Epistle of Peter must be given up; but so keen a critic as Weiss thinks its apostolic origin may be defended. The latest work on the Colossians* is a strong plea for its Pauline origin, and as a commentary is pronounced by Holtzmann the best and most serviceable that has yet appeared.

(2.) *History of the Canon.*

This involves a careful description of the collection and transmission of the New Testament books, and of the principles which prevailed among those who gave us our Canon. To conduct such an inquiry one must compare all the references in the Fathers and decisions of councils of the first four centuries, at the same time carefully studying the early versions and the heretical use of the Scriptures. This labor has been greatly lightened for the English student by Professor Charteris, who has published a translation and working over† of Kirchofer's *Quellensammlung zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons bis auf Hieronymus*, in which the requisite material from the sources is carefully collected in connection with each book of the New Testament.

Especially have the gnostics and their relation to the Canon been studied of late. A closer investigation of Marcion has convinced Ritschl that he was wrong when he pronounced his work the basis of the Gospel of Luke. And other critics have come to the same conclusion.

*Alb. Kloepper. *Der Brief an die Colosser, &c.* Berlin, 1882.

†*Canonicity of the New Testament.* Edinburgh, 1880

Lipsius has examined with great care and the use of much valuable manuscript material, the Apocryphal Acts,* and shown that they arose between 150–250, A.D., and are of gnostic origin. They find no mention in the orthodox church before the middle of the fourth century, and were then worked over for religious use. These results certainly do not favor the views of such critics as Hilgenfeld and Volkmar, who explain the fourth Gospel as of gnostic origin, or of those who trace the Pastoral Epistles and the Epistle to the Ephesians to a similar source.

Zahn (b. 1838) has begun a series of monographs (as contributions to the history of the Canon—the first of which discusses Tatian's Diatessaron.

After elaborate research he comes to the conclusion that the Diatessaron was a harmony of the Gospels made by Tatian about A. D. 172, on the basis of an existing Syriac translation of our canonical Gospels, and also with knowledge of the Greek original, for the use of the church in his Mesopotamian home. Zahn finds reason to think Tatian used the first Syriac version of about A. D. 150, fragments of which Cureton discovered, and compared a Greek copy very closely related to the Itala. Of course the liberal school cannot accept this finding, for if the Gospels were in an established Syriac version, A. D. 172 (150), and had such canonical weight that a harmony could be written of them,

**Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, 1 Bd., Braunschweig, 1883.

†*Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutest. Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur*. 1 Theil: Tatian's Diatessaron. Erlangen, 1881,

that would put their origin—John included—probably in the first century, and would contradict the fluid view of the Canon which we are assured prevailed all through the second century. Overbeck, (b. 1837) accordingly, in his review of the work* states the matter thus: "The Diatesseron certainly presupposes the four Gospels, but nowhere a recognition by its author of their canonicity."

It was composed with the idea of making something better than the Gospels, and is hence not a harmony of the Gospels but a Gospel itself, and as such it does not belong to the history of a closed canon of the Gospels, but to the account of the formation of the Gospels, and is one of the last products of that period of liberty or productivity in evangelical literature which came to an end with the recognition of a Canon." One thing is certainly clear, viz., that when the discussion comes to the surface, in the fourth century, it is in favor of the four Gospels and in condemnation of Tatian's work in their place. The important question is, then: had this diatessaron in church use, by its convenience set aside the separate Gospels, and was the controversy in order to restore the Evangelists their former place, or was it an attempt to put the four which had later attained a canonical respect in the place of the one which at first was of equal value with the four? Materials for settling such enquiries are growing and the matter is still under discussion. In 1862, de Lagarde (b. 1827), made known the existence in an Armenian translation of Ephraem the Syrian's

**Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1882, No. 5.

(d. 373) commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron. And this was given to the world, 1876, in a Latin version.*

A. Harnack, who first discussed this important discovery,† comes to the conclusion that Tatian wrote in Rome, and aimed by a revision and blending of the prominent christian writings to form a New Testament Canon.

In this connection he notices again Muratori's Fragment, which he considers an orthodox canon of the West, rejecting the Diatessaron of Tatian.

(3.) *History of the New Testament Text.*

This is a subject more philological and critical in its nature, and yet it requires, at every step, to be treated in connection with the whole ecclesiastical development. The early ideas of inspiration, and literary rights led to varying treatment of the text. The relative importance assigned to books at different periods—e. g., the Apocalypse in the third and fourth centuries—caused some to be handled more carefully than others. A critical school—like that of Antioch and monastic copyists in the Middle Ages, neglected what seemed non-essential, or inserted glosses to protect traditional views.

The history of versions too, in which the Scriptures were for the most part studied, and their action and reaction upon various readings must be considered,

**Evangelii concordantis expositio facta a S. Ephraemo, in Latinum translata. J. B. Aucher, Cujus versionem. edidit. Moesinger, Venetiis 1876.*

† *Tatian's Diatessaron und Marcion's Commentar zum Evangelium bei Ephraem Syrus: (Zeitschrift fuer Kirchengeschichte, 1881, Heft 4.)*

and their testimony, sometimes older than that of any manuscript, weighed in the critical balance.

Patristic quotations must also be compared with the manuscript sources, and the evidence of any particular Father studied in the light of his temperament, scholarship, church surroundings and literary method.

From the very beginning this conscious and unconscious corruption of the text seems to have gone on. Reuss* thinks Paul himself may have changed a word here and there in his manuscript, and so the Epistles at first had various readings. Tischendorf,† when he had traced the Gospels historically to the beginning of the second century, based his last movement, to the apostles themselves, on the fact that the New Testament then showed it had gone through a textual growth.

In this field of enquiry, English and American scholars have done some of their best work. Since the death of Tischendorf, (d. 1874), Germany has no critic—not excepting Gebhardt—who ranks with Scrivener, Westcott and Hort, or is superior to Prof. Abbot of Harvard College. Dr. Gregory, a young American scholar, has been for years occupied with the prolegomena to the eighth edition of Tischendorf's Greek Testament. It will be a work of scrupulous exactness, correcting Scrivener's Introduction on almost every page, prepared in constant communication with the ablest living critics, and may be looked for about the close of the present year.

* *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften neuen Testaments*, 1864, p. 356.

† *Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?* 1864 p. 66. Also in English "*When were our Gospels written?*"

The introduction to Westcott and Hort's New Testament, (vol. 2), 1881, is the most valuable history of the text from the origin of the New Testament writings to the victory of the *textus receptus* that we possess. It is recognized as such by both German and English critics.

THE PRINTED TEXT.

The history of the printed New Testament text forms a wide and curious study. Reuss has investigated it more minutely perhaps than any other man, and has given the results of his labors in a work * which traces the different families of editions, and gives a complete catalogue, with critical remarks, of all the Greek New Testaments published down to the year 1872. For the bibliophile in this department, Reuss' book is about indispensable.

Among the latest editions of the Greek New Testament, that of Westcott and Hort† occupies the first place. An edition, edited by Prof. Riggenbach and Dr. Stockmayer for the Basle Bible Society,‡ is interesting in being the first independent recension of the text by German editors since Tischendorf. Where it departs from Tischendorf it usually agrees with Westcott and Hort.

The best among late German editions is that by Gebhardt.|| It provides the student with all essential help in *praemonenda*, critical notes, and the readings preferred by the great English editors.

**Bibliotheca novi testamenti*, 1872.

†Two Vols., London, 1881.

‡Basel, 1880.

||*Novum Testamentum graece. Recensionis Tischendorffianae ultimae textum cum Tregellesiano et Westcottio-Hortiano contulit et brevi annotatione critica additisque locis parallelis illustravit. O. de Gebhardt. Lipsiae. 1881, M., 3.*

(4). *History of Hermeneutics.*

To trace the theory and practice of expounding Scripture in the history of doctrine and discipline is a most interesting study, and one comparatively neglected.

It must begin with the Jewish method of exegesis in the time of Christ, for the New Testament writings bear on their human side the marks of such a method. Paul, the greatest christian writer, proceeded from the school of Gamaliel, the last Rabboni of this period—over whose grave it was said: "The glory of the Law has departed."

But as the Church moved from Jerusalem to Antioch and from Antioch to Rome it fell more under the influence of the Jews in the Diaspora. Alexandria, where the first Theological Seminary arose, became the earliest centre of scientific method in theology. And in Alexandria lived and labored till near the middle of the first century, the great Jewish philosopher and exegete, Philo.

An early tradition speaks of his friendship for Mark, who is said to have founded the Church in that city, and points to christian interest in Philo. Siegfried, in his valuable work† shows by most conclusive examples how this Jewish allegorical exegesis colors early christian exposition of Scripture. He finds the Palestine halachic and haggadic methods in the words of Jesus and Paul; (e. g. of the latter Hebr. xii., 21; 2 Tim. iii., 8), also the Alexandrine type represented in Apollos. (Cf. Acts xviii, 24: 1

† *Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger des Alten Testaments.* Jena. 1875.

Cor I, 2; iii, 4; Tit. iii, 13), and many parallels found to Philo (e. g. I Cor. ix, 9; Gal. iii, 16; I Cor. x, 4, etc.). There is no doubt but the form of John's Gospel was influenced from this source.

The Apostolic Fathers, especially the author of the Epistle of Barnabas, Justin Martyr, the Gnostic writers and Clement of Alexandria, echo Philo. Eusebius knows him well, Hieronymus often refers to him, and Ambrose copies whole passages literally from his works.

Our study traces this allegorical tendency to the threefold sense—literal, moral and mystic—and its first scientific formulation in Origen's *Περὶ ἀρχῶν*.

It notices the more traditional dogmatic current which opposed Gnostic allegory and is best represented by Tertullian and Irenaeus. The third tendency—more historic and grammatical, with a tinge of rationalism—then claims attention in the school of Antioch, represented by Eusebius of Emisa, Theodorus of Mopsuestia, etc.

Moving toward the Middle Ages we find all these currents blended in such couplets as,

*Litera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,
Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia—*

pointing to a fourfold meaning.

In fact during the Patristic Period the rules for hermeneutics were just about two. (1). Do not find a meaning that contradicts the received doctrines, and (2). Within these limits seek for the deepest possible sense in every word of Scripture.

The Middle Ages did little but reproduce the comments of the Fathers in glosses, scholia, etc., which were hammered into endless Catenae. Elster's es-

say on the subject† treats of the teaching of the Schoolmen concerning the Scriptures in general, the external condition of this science in that period, the scholastic doctrine of a manifold sense in Scripture, the reasons and method of their allegorical interpretation, and especially *De dogmatico-philosophica interpretationis ratione apud theologos medii aevi usitata*.

The Reformation opens an interesting chapter in this history when the revival of classical studies led commentators back to the original text and stimulated a grammatico-historic method.

The emphasis laid on the Scriptures by the Reformers and the right of private judgment removed the incubus of traditional dogmatic incrustations and led the Protestants to declare at Spire that Scripture is to be its own interpreter.

Nicholas Lyra (d. 1340) wrote the first commentary on the Hebrew Bible,§, and Laurentius Valla (d. 1457) on the Greek New Testament.**

The first work on Hermeneutics by the Reformers was written by Flaccius Illyricus.††

His positions are not yet obsolete. They are:
 (1.) The Bible is the only source of religious truth.
 (2.) It must be read in the fear of God. (3.) And with all needful linguistic, logical and philosophical knowledge. (4.) The simple sense of Scripture is to be accepted. (5.) The scope of a whole book is to be sought first. (6.) Outer circumstances are

†*De medii aevi theologia exegetica*, pp. 47, Gottingae, 1855.

§*Postillae perpetuae . . . in universa biblia*. 1 ed., Rome, 1471.

***Annotationes in N. T.*, etc. Ed., Erasmus, 1505.

††*Clavis Scripturae Sacrae*, Antwerp, 1567.

to be regarded. These are six: of person, time, manner, cause, place and means.

(7.) Different passages are to be compared. (8.) The analogy of faith is to be observed.

The later history shows learned commentaries in the service of a dead orthodoxy, and in Holland and England especially, running into most fantastic typological exegesis.

A revival began under Semler (d. 1791) on the historic, and Ernesti (d. 1781) on the philological side, which has grown into the present grammatical historic method, seen in such valuable commentaries as those of Meyer^{††} and Lightfoot. A curious contemporary chapter would describe the philosophical exegesis by which Fichte (d. 1814), for example, found his metaphysical system in the Gospel of John.

^{††}Published in English; translation by T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh.

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

PRESENT
THEOLOGICAL TENDENCIES,

AND THE INFLUENCES PRODUCING THEM.

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SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

INTRODUCTION.

A period of theological fermentation seems pretty obviously to be coming upon the American Churches. An increasing familiarity with German thought is already producing its effect upon the popular mind. The speculations of Kant and Hegel must have their effect upon those who give attention to such topics as the divine existence or the evidences of Christianity. The determined opposition of Lutheran theologians to the doctrine of predestination* inevitably leads many to review the Calvinistic sentiments which they may have inherited.

The inborn tendency of American, especially New England, theologians to review the opinions of their fathers and to express their thoughts in their own way, never permits a perfect repose in our

*It is worthy of notice that in this country "The Missouri Synod" of Lutherans accept, not without opposition here and decided disapproval abroad, the Calvinistic views on this subject. "Es handelt sich um die Frage, ob die Kinder Gottes 'in Ansehung des Glaubens' oder 'Zum Glauben' erwählt sind. Missouri lehrt letzteres. Den Dissentirenden gilt das fuer calvinisch." *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, January 14, 1882.

churches. Recent aberrations in Scotland† from the traditional Presbyterian doctrines of sin and grace have wakened inquiry as well as caused surprise in all parts of the world where English books are read. Causes like these, together with the developments of natural science and recent criticism upon the structure of the Scriptures, have already wakened such discussion that the air is filled with the din of discordant voices, and many minds are disturbed even to the unsettling of their religious faith.

While all denominations are affected by these forces entering into the theological world, the Congregationalists are perhaps more susceptible to them than other denominations, and more readily respond to influences affecting religious opinions. Though the denomination has long and often accepted the Westminster confession for substance of doctrine, there is something of uneasiness in the body over its creed. There has been from time to time qualified dissent from the old formulas, representative councils have referred rather indefinitely to doctrines previously set forth, and a creed committee is now at work elaborating a doctrinal statement to be commended to the favor of the Churches. Still any freedom of discussion that may be observed among Congregationalists is due rather to their ecclesiasti-

† *The Scottish Review* is a quarterly publication recently established in the interest of the liberal movement in Scotland. Its spirit is disclosed by the fact that it approves of a commentary on Genesis in which the author aims to lay before "the inquiring youth" of the country the results of recent criticism on the Pentateuch, and accords to it only a relatively Mosaic origin. It also favors a tolerance of the doctrinal differences between Unitarians and Trinitarians on the ground that there should be no unadjustable contentions over a point in itself indefinable.

cal organization than to any instability of convictions among those who constitute the denomination.

The aim of this essay will be to call attention to some of the topics now under discussion in the religious world, only those being selected which seem to waken more than ordinary interest. There will be no reference to denominations in the selection of the themes of remark, though the status of the Congregational body will in some instances be prominently in mind. We shall not attempt to settle any questions under debate, but simply note some of their salient points and the attitude of the christian community in relation to them.

CHAPTER I.

DOCTRINES UNDER DISCUSSION.

I. THE EXISTENCE OF GOD.

Though the existence of God is not called in question by those who write upon theology, nor seriously by those who are interested in theology, yet there is no theme on which there is less unanimity as to the premises for argumentation and the methods of argumentation than theism.

Both the source of the idea of God and the proofs of His existence are made matters of discussion. There are those who would teach that the idea of God is derived from experience and observation, those who would make it a direct revelation, and those who would make it a necessary idea innate to the mind; but this topic, the origin of our knowledge of God, is not one exercising any special influence upon theology and may be passed with a mere notice.

On the evidence of the divine *existence* there is much diversity of opinion, and here tendencies of thought are exercising a marked influence upon theological views,—an influence that is destined to increase as the discussion proceeds. It might at first seem that a God, acknowledged to be the moral governor of the world, would be accepted as making

such manifestations of Himself as He might choose, and that the method of satisfying the mind as to His existence would have no influence upon views concerning the method of His government, but this is not the case, as will appear more fully hereafter, especially in the remarks upon the atonement.

The a priori Argument.

In the *a priori* argument for the being of God the premises are furnished by the mind itself. The objective existence of the Divine Being is considered to be a necessary conclusion from certain necessary thoughts,—such as the idea of a perfect being; the idea of immensity which must be attributed to *something*; the necessity of a correlative to self; the predominance of the ethical idea. If this argument could be made to appear satisfactory and convincing, if it could be brought home to the mass of the people and be made to appear to them as clear, undeniable, in its demonstration of the existence of a personal Creator and Ruler, it would be the most convenient of all the arguments that have been devised. The material of the argument is at hand, each individual furnishes it and must therefore accept it. Anselm hoped that he had through this argument made doubt of the existence of God an impossibility. But the world does not accept the proof. It has not been generally acknowledged that the passage from the subjective to the objective is satisfactorily effected. The mass of the people are not able to see that the subjective idea puts on a super-subjective substance by being reasoned about; nor are

they able to see that it is at once subjective and objective, it seems to them a contradiction to say that they know it otherwise than as it is *known* to them.*

The a posteriori Argument.

The *a posteriori* argument infers the existence of God as the source and cause of nature and its operations.

Every thing dependent must have a support and every effect must have a cause. A study of nature shows that it is dependent, in parts at least, and there are phenomena which we must believe to be effects, and some of the effects must have a cause to which intelligence and purpose can be attributed. This argument seems more potent with ordinary thinkers than the *a priori*, but it is sharply criticised. The law of cause and effect is said to be simply a law of nature, and of course can not lead beyond nature to an object outside the realm of cause and effect. No one can follow a chain beyond the last link. In opposition to this it is said that the law of cause and effect is not derived from nature and is not confined to nature, that it is an intuition of the mind and necessarily accepted in all matters that are objects of thought. But it is replied that, even if this is granted, we cannot attain by this argument to the idea of God, for we cannot go beyond the demands of the effect in ascribing power to the cause. No effect in nature demands infi-

*Bascom's *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 60. *Theism*, by Robert Flint. D. D., p. 277.

nite power, therefore there is no ground for inferring an infinite Creator; the demiurge must be strong, but cannot be identified with God—the God known to the mind and heart of man.

There is much difference of opinion as to the value of the *a posteriori* argument. It is no part of our purpose in this discussion to form an estimate of it, but to note the fact that it is considered by many unsatisfactory; if logical, inadequate, but in fact illogical, inasmuch as it renounces its principle in its conclusion.†

The Moral Argument.

Much has been said about the moral argument for the being of God, but this term is vaguely used. It sometimes designates a form of the *a priori*, the subject matter being taken from the moral nature, and sometimes a form of the *a posteriori*, the major premise being, *what our moral interests demand we may accept as true*. The moral argument, as simply an *a posteriori* argument, whether presented by Kant or a less famous thinker, will by a rigid intellectual criticism be said to amount to little more than this: *We want a God, therefore we take one*. The same term, moral argument, is probably sometimes used, though improperly, to designate the view next to be noticed,—an immediate knowledge of God.

†Mulford; *Republic of God*, p. 7.

Bascom's *Philosophy of Religion*, pp. 60, 61.

Lipsius; *Protestantische Dogmatik*, p. 215.

Immediate Knowledge of God.

When the proofs of the divine existence are rejected and it is finally asserted, as is often the case, that God's existence can not be demonstrated, speculative minds turn in very different directions; one class adopts atheism,—the theory that there is no God, at least none known to us; another class affirms that the existence of God is a primal truth, that He is an object of intuition, of consciousness, and that we need no demonstration of His existence. With some writers the God-consciousness figures largely, they appeal to it as they do to consciousness in sensation and to self-consciousness. It is assumed that we rest on God as we do upon the earth, that He presses against us on every side like the atmosphere in which we live and move. Sometimes there seems to be a degree of misgiving as to the use of the term God-consciousness, and the existence of God is represented as the *presupposition* of all knowledge,—certainly all scientific knowledge. We can know nothing of nature except through a belief in its uniformity and this is an assumption of God's existence; we cannot know ourselves as personal beings except as we know ourselves in God the personal spirit; we cannot know our fellow-creatures as they exist personal beings, as they form with us families, as they with ourselves constitute a commonwealth, except as we know them in God, the infinite spirit, the true personality, the guarantee and guardian of all ethical interests. We cannot know the meaning of purpose, final cause, the aim at the good as an end, except as we know God in

whom the good has its subsistence. The view of our knowledge of God here maintained is not that we infer the existence of God from such thoughts, but that we *have*,—dimly it may be at first, then more clearly,—the idea itself *in* the thinking as a constituent part of the thought. If we would attend to our thoughts, it is said, and see on what they rest when we believe *anything*, we should see that the idea of God was at the basis of them all. Thus we are compelled to *believe* in the existence of God.*

It may be held that a *belief* in the existence of God is no proof of His *actual* existence, that His existence may be admitted as a presupposition for science and yet remain only an intellectual fiction. And some actually accept that result and make God merely the idea that regulates thought, as the naturalist may make Him a power which must be admitted as existing prior to any of the operations of nature, but others claim that in knowing God as the primal *idea* we know *Him*. The idea of God and His being are one, we only know Him in His being. Our access to the truth is in and through Him, in Him truth and reality are one, and to know is the grasp of a truth or the realization of it in our own self-consciousness. Of course we need no demonstration of God's existence, under such circumstances, for our self-consciousness is also God-consciousness.†

There is undoubtedly a tendency at the present time towards the adoption of this latter method of

*Mulford's *Republic of God*, pp. 5, 19.

Bascom's *Philosophy of Religion*, pp. 76, 77.

Porter's *Human Intellect*, p. 662.

†Dorner's *Christian Doctrine* (Translation), I., p. 229.

satisfying the mind of the divine existence, and a tendency to adopt views of sin and redemption corresponding with it.

II. EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY.

One of the attempts of the present time is to find and formulate new evidences of the christian religion. While it has been held, by all believers, that the divine and saving efficacy of Christianity is known only from experience, it has also been generally held that the historic facts of the system are established on historic evidence. The old systems of theology have set forth, that the appearance of Jesus of Nazareth upon the earth can be established by such proofs as attest the appearance of Socrates or Caesar upon the earth; that His works, some of them manifesting superhuman power, can be established by satisfactory proofs; that the wisdom of Christ's teachings can be shown to be more than that of man, and that for such reasons it can be pressed upon every one as a duty to attend to the call of God and to accept the religion of Christ. The criticism of the evidences of Christianity has, however, long been sharp, sometimes fierce. Honest men have differed in their estimates of them. Hodge said the resurrection of Christ was the best attested fact of history; Strauss, that no pretence was ever so badly supported; some have affirmed, that a miracle never can be *proved* to have occurred, some, that miracles are, in any case, a burden upon, rather than a support to, the christian system. Partly from an assent to some of these criticisms, partly for the sake of avoiding them, and

partly because of peculiar views as to the philosophy of Christianity, other schemes of christian evidences have been devised.

A view which is received with something of favor at the present time is, briefly stated, the following: Certainty is a subjective condition of soul. It is not of necessity a conviction through argumentation, and so not always a conviction that can be enforced upon others, but may be simply a personal sentiment. What we see clearly we cannot doubt. Clearness of conviction is made the test of truth. All conviction rests on intuitions or inferences from them. Though we may trust in conclusions that are reached by processes of reasoning, we must always be able to trace them back to axioms that are self-evident. In certainty upon *religious* doctrines no reliance is to be placed upon inferences, there are no processes of reasoning here, all is a matter of intuition. Knowledge here comes from a personal communion with the object known. There is a commingling, an inter-working of subject and object, which irresistibly impresses upon us an assurance of certain truths concerning the object. The object coming into communion with us in *religious* knowledge is God. Our recognition of him is God-consciousness. In God-consciousness we come to know ourselves, and can apprehend the world-system only through him.*

If we come into communion with God, through Christ, then we know Christ as at once the head of humanity and the incarnation of God. If our true

*Dorner's *Christian Doctrines*, I., p. 50. Mulford's *Republic of God*, pp. 101, 103.

self becomes an object of consciousness through Christ, if the new self is born by communion with the divine, then it is nearer to God than the soul is to the body, and our assurance of Christ's work in the world, of his manifestation of God is perfect. It is to be expected, that Christianity should be opposed by those who do not know God by communion with Christ. It makes no attempt to compel the mere natural intellect to acknowledge its claims, its internal and characteristic truths are known only to those who come under its sway and feel its transforming power, and by no other means can it reach the intellect and produce a conviction of its worth. But when Christianity is thus known it is accepted as the clearest of truths and requires no historic evidences, it is its own evidence.* Those who adopt this method of establishing Christianity, suppose that they have a perfect demonstration of the truth of the system for those who accept it in practical life, and that they are relieved from resting upon a system of evidences that is in itself fatally defective. They consider that they avoid the reasoning in a circle, of which those are guilty who base the evidence of the system of redemption on the goodness of God. Those who resort to the subjective evidence say, that in the scheme of others, the good-

*Dorner's *Christian Doctrines*, I. pp. 96--104. II. p. 284. Mulford's *Republic of God*, p. 219. Dr. Kubel, Professor of Theology at Tuebingen, says there is an opposition of view on the resurrection of Christ, between the consciousness theology and the fact theology. Both hold that the apostles believed it, the former has no concern with the fact. *Ueber den Unterschied zwischen der positiven und der liberalen Richtung in der modernen Theologie*. 1881. p. 77. The subjective evidences are frequently commended in enthusiastic sermons and lectures,

ness of God is proved only by revelation and redemption, therefore, these can not be established as true because of His goodness. They also accuse their opponents of reasoning in a circle in their attempts to establish the divine mission of Jesus. His assertions must be taken as evidence of His divine character, while yet they can be believed in support of His claims to divinity only on the *supposition* of His divine character. It is also said that historic evidence to Christ's character and teaching never can amount to more than a probability, and that a probability can never afford repose to an anxious soul. It is said again, that the old method of establishing the truth of Christianity does not at all present the contents of the system, that it only furnishes the husk, and therefore it does not commend the scheme to men, does not furnish a ground on which they can be required to accept it. Dorner holds that it is fortunate that the historic method of presenting the Christian evidences fails, because men are then driven to adopt the better method, that of immediate communion with God. In this Christianity is its own evidence, the contents of the system is the undeniable proof of the reality of the system, and the assurance of the worth and power is as strong as the conviction of God's existence, or of the existence of self.

It is claimed as an excellence of this subjective scheme of evidences that it addresses the moral nature, while the other scheme simply addresses the intellect. A moral nature excited to action, the soul in a state of spiritual vitality, implies in that

fact conviction and, presumably, acceptance of the truth addressed to it; but that which is addressed to the intellect is an object of judgment, may be accepted or rejected, and does not directly affect the heart.

The influence of such views upon the accepted theology of this century cannot readily be estimated, but it will obviously encounter strong opposition.

It will be said that probability is often so strong as to afford the soul a sure ground of repose. The existence of objects which we have never seen,—distant cities or mountains, of invisible objects,—the gases known to the chemist, is not a matter of doubt. The life and work of the man Jesus is not a matter of doubt, even to those who consider Him a mere man. There is no more question of His existence than of that of Napoleon Bonaparte.

It will also be denied that we need to know God in order to know self, much less to be born again in Christ in order to know self. The *fullness* of knowledge on this point may not be otherwise attained, but to some extent, man as a sinner knows himself. He has in remorse, in conscious guilt because of past transgression, a conviction of his identity and personality as perfect as possible. It is the testimony of missionaries that the heathen have the clearest convictions of sin and of responsibility even when they have but the dimmest notions of Deity, no idea of him beyond, perhaps, that of some object of superstitious fear. Of course, in such cases there is no knowledge of Christ and no knowledge of sin

coming through a spiritual apprehension of the God-man. But there is such a consciousness of ill-desert and helplessness as to waken a sense of danger and of the need of external help.

It will be maintained by the advocates of the historic evidences of Christianity that the power of the Gospel of Christ upon those who have made trial of it, is sufficient to commend it to those who have not made the trial. One of the offices of a converted man is to act as a witness for Christ. For this the Apostles were chosen, and all who believe through their word become witnesses to the efficacy of the Gospel. Testimony like this addressed to the intellect is sufficient to leave inexcusable those who neglect the salvation of Christ. The historic evidences of Christianity, its effects being included, and such a knowledge of self as ordinary experience and observation afford, are, it is claimed, abundant ground for calling on every one, for demanding of every one, to embrace the religion of Christ.

It will be charged against the advocates of the subjective scheme of christian evidences that their method of treating the subject affords no ground for earnest preaching. If men in their natural state cannot know that the religion of Christ is the true scheme of salvation, they cannot be urged to adopt it, certainly cannot be urged on the ground that they would incur guilt by the neglect of it.

The preacher of the Gospel has an ally in the soul of the unconverted man, viz.: his conscience. Skill in preaching is skill in addressing the conscience, power in preaching is power in arousing that faculty.

But the conscience is not moved in view of surmises or doubts. It is only clear conviction and admitted neglect of known duty that waken remorse. The goadings of this monitor only follow upon the unequivocal sense of neglected opportunity, of failure to be and do what one ought to be and do.

Convictions that depend on an already accepted and realized salvation afford no ground for urgency to accept that salvation. To say that the historic evidences are sufficient to furnish a reason for preaching Christ, is to grant all that is claimed for them; to say that they do not afford a personal knowledge of the christian force that changes the heart and renews the life is to say nothing new.

The subjective scheme is intended to set aside, at least discredit, the historic, but such an aim is really suicidal, for the subjective can only be reached through the historic.

There are several topics of interest in theology which are undergoing discussion, but on which there is little that is new to be noted. The attitude of the public mind is rather that of waiting and expectation than of drift or tendency. No new forces are just now entering into the discussion of them, and they may be passed with a simple allusion.

III. INSPIRATION.

The doctrine of inspiration has been a good deal discussed in recent times but it does not seem to be settling into any definite form which promises to be generally accepted. The view that the writers of

the sacred books were mere amanuenses, were implements of record, employed by the Holy Spirit, is not now extensively adopted. On the other hand all Christians hold that the Bible is the book of God. In what way men were moved by the Holy Ghost when they wrote, how far the human element is represented in the Scriptural documents, is a question on which opinions are unsettled. There does not seem at present to be any tendency towards unity of sentiment on this topic.

IV. EVOLUTION.

The relation of theology to Evolution is another topic on which the minds of many are unsettled. The formation of the crust of the earth by processes going on through long geological periods seemed for a time inconsistent with the Bible account of creation, but it seems now to be admitted, that the first chapters of Genesis are not contradicted by the story of the earth's transformations as read in the rocks.

More sweeping theories of development have, however, been broached which appear to be at war with the teaching of the Bible and with the first principles of morality and religion. It is maintained by some that all of animate existence is one, a development of the potential life of a certain elemental inorganic substance. Whatever the term used, descent or development, whatever the theory, evolution of original power, or progress through new endowments, the position is maintained that all the present

species of animals, including man, are descended from preceding and different species. It is also maintained by many that the qualities of human beings which we call moral and religious are simply the development of animal qualities such as we find in the dog or the horse.

Although the advocates of evolution are confident in regard to this theory in general, there are as yet no specific statements of it that are not to a great degree hypothetical. Theology has not, therefore, been called upon to adapt itself to any generally accepted views upon this subject. Attempts to demonstrate the harmony of religion and science have been numerous, many works, both German and English, might be cited. Some treatises like Dr. Charles Hodge's *What is Darwinism?* have taken up directly the subject of evolution, but not many of them have been written on the supposition that the doctrine of evolution is established. There are, however, works which have attempted an adjustment of christian doctrines to evolution as an admitted principle of science; *The Theories of Darwin*, by Rudolf Schmid, recently translated into English by G. A. Zimmermann may be said to be one of these, and in a more pronounced way, *Old Faiths in New Light*, by Dr. Newman Smyth. But the theology we *are to have* when evolution is universally and fully accepted is not as yet greatly agitating the public mind, and we may pass the subject with a mere allusion.

V. ATONEMENT.

The atonement is a doctrine to which special attention has been given of late, and yet no marked tendency of thought is to be noticed concerning it. It may be that some new theory, or a modification of some old theory will, within a few years, secure a considerable following, but at present the state of mind on this topic, so far as it excites discussion, may be described as one of unrest rather than one of tendency.

This doctrine has been considered the central doctrine of revelation. It has been held that it was typified by the Jewish sacrifices, and that in the fullness of time the great sacrifice was set forth that sin might be pardoned and man brought into favor with God. This is still the prevailing view, yet the sentiment seems to be gaining ground, that the incarnation is the central doctrine and the atonement an appendage to it. The revelation of God, it is maintained by many, is the chief design of the divine works, and the incarnation of God in humanity is the completion of this revelation. To this all the divine plans were directed from the first. When man sinned, the means of his redemption were already in operation, the incarnation contained a force adequate to the atonement of sin and the restoration of the sinner. Sin required, it may be, some modification of the method of the divine manifestation, made it necessary for the Christ to enter into conflict with the powers of the world and to die by violence, but still redemption from sin was only an incidental addition to God's work in the fulfilment of his

purposes in creation. God's revelation of Himself was in progress and not changed by the introduction of sin into the world; nor was it essentially modified because of the foreseen sin of man.

While speculations of this kind are to be noticed, they have not yet acquired such general acceptance as to be considered a portion of the theology of the day. The well-known theories on this subject maintain their position for the most part, no one can be said to be displacing another. There has been, in this country, some effort to push out to a wider acceptance *the moral-influence theory*, connected prominently with the name of Dr. Bushnell, but it has not been attended with great success. This theory does not take a strong hold of the mind. Even its advocates must admit that it throws the stress of the redemptive scheme upon other allied doctrines, as regeneration, instead of retaining it with the doctrine that has acquired the most serious and emphatic name—the atonement. And it is to be noticed also that the tendency of speculation just now is adverse to this theory. Should modifications of the doctrine arise, within a few years, they will probably tend to *concentrate* in the atonement the power that changes men and effects reconciliation with God.

The writings of John McLeod Campbell have excited interest upon this subject, but he can not be said to have formed a school. His theory might be said to be the *yea-yea theory*. He represents God as desirous of pardoning sin, but unable to do so until an adequate confession of it is made. Human-

ity does this in Christ, He says *yea* to God's *yea*; man, through Christ, looks on sin as God does, and God can come to agreement with men concerning it. There is a mutual understanding as to the guilt of men, a proper confession, a satisfactory penitence. These views are stated with much eloquence by the author, but are not, as he presents them, allied with any philosophical scheme of the divine and human relations adequate to the basis of his system; nor has he connected them with the Scriptures in any such way as to secure their general acceptance.

A work on the atonement, which stands by itself, is that of Prof. Ritschl, of Göttingen. He has given patient and protracted study to the subject, to its literature, to the teachings of the Bible concerning it, and to the nature of atonement itself. His views have not, as yet, greatly modified the sentiments of christian thinkers, yet there are to be found here and there, in some recent publications, expressions that indicate a kindred tendency—expressions perhaps suggested by his writings.

He rejects the doctrine of original sin,* and says of actual sin that we do not know much about it.† It comes from the devil, not from God; is connected with a life of subjection to unspiritual laws—life on a different plane from that of believers. The wrath of God is not directed against all sin, but only against the sin of rejecting Christ. His wrath is final condemnation, and any one towards whom it is directed is lost. The curse of the law is not the curse of God.

**Lehre von der Rechtfertigung*, etc., II. p. 391, 305.

†*Lehre von der Rechtfertigung*, etc., III. p. 335.

The law was introduced by angels through Moses,* not by God himself, God is therefore not its guardian. Ritschl assumes that as a religious being man is above nature, lives a life of freedom, and that therefore there is no connection between metaphysics and religion. Inquiry after substances, the basis of matter, or the relation of spirit to matter, is on an entirely different plane from that of religious knowledge.† One of his friends writing in his defence says of his Christology; "It renounces the attempt to make comprehensible to the understanding how Christ came into possession of the mysteries of the Kingdom of God, it does not form of materials which are drawn from philosophy an ontological, inner-trinitarian structure of the life and work of Christ, in order to base on abstractions a homoousia, which is very important for Neo-Platonists, but of no value to pious Christians."‡ The same author says: "He shows, that, when they [the naturalists] form a scheme in explanation of the Universe, they exchange the office of science for the poetizing imagination."‡ As would be presumed from such statements, Ritschl rejects the 'Anselmic theory of satisfaction,' 'the church theory of punishment,' and maintains that Christ reconciled not God to men, but men to God.‡

Atonement is a cover under which the sinner may approach God. It is zeal in his service or a gift offered to him. Phinehas made atonement for Israel

**Lehre von der Rechtfertigung*, etc. II. p. 309.

†Discourse by Professor Fricke of Berlin, June, 1882.

‡Pastor Thikoetter of Bremen, *Deutsch-Evangelische Blaetter*, Feb. 1883 and March 1883.

by the zeal with which he opposed those who fell into sin by joining themselves to Baal Peor. In the Jewish sacrifices the dead animal does not enter into the account, the work of the priest is acceptable to God, and the animal's blood, being the life, when sprinkled on the altar is looked upon with favor. But in any case repentance is an adequate ground of forgiveness without sacrifice. The sufferings of Christ were not in any sense penal, and he was a sacrifice only as he died in a way that reminds one of the sacrificial death of the offering upon the altar. He bore our sins in his infirmity not as a substitute. But Christ made atonement by His zeal and in Him all may come near to God. When they come near they become reconciled to God and enter on the new life. Sin, except that of rejecting Christ, is not really a ground of condemnation, but it separates man from God, produces fear of Him and so makes reconciliation impossible. Law and grace exclude each other, as long as one is under the law he cannot be at peace with God, but when one is raised above law, he is reconciled, and the law life is left behind to be no more regarded; one then enters into the Kingdom of God and lives the life of freedom. The Kingdom of God is as good an exponent of Christianity as the atonement is. If one belongs to the Kingdom he is saved, out of it no salvation is possible. It is as proper to explain the atonement by the Kingdom of God as the Kingdom by the atonement, they are correlates; to avail one's self of either is to have the advantage of the other. The essence of christian life is freedom. In it one is de-

livered from the law, is extricated from the system of nature, of cause and effect, and becomes an independent whole over against the world. The freedom of the christian is his love of the end for which God made the world. By this love, or by coincidence of purpose with the purpose of the Kingdom of God, he becomes a citizen of a new world, and voluntarily adopts a new law of conduct. In the christian life failures in duty rising from the obstacles to our freedom are not to be considered marks of imperfection. "Exhibitions of weakness of faith in providence, of hesitancy in yielding to God's appointments, of momentary impatience in suffering, in short exhibitions of weakness of faith, of want of joyfulness in christian life are confessed." "They are not, however, necessarily phenomena of the sinful egoism, but of temptation." "The perception of these hindrances, if it is accompanied with the resolution to overcome them, is an evidence of imperfection only in a quantitative view, but in the qualitative relation is an exhibition of religious perfection."*

Though this theme of Ritschl may exert an influence on some minds, it cannot greatly modify the theological view of the Church at large. It is too defective as a practical system to be generally adopted. It recognizes no power which fills the place accorded in the Reformed theology to the Holy Spirit.

**Lehre*, etc. III. pp. 579, 580.

CHAPTER II.

DORNER'S SYSTEM OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

The translation of Dorner's *System of Christian Doctrine* into English may have an influence upon the theological views of our denomination, perhaps of the religious denominations of the country. Already the doctrine of a future probation is connected with his name. This is due, however, to the fact that some of its advocates have heretofore been familiar with his teachings, rather than to any acquaintance with them formed since the publication of his works in English. Indeed, it is not improbable that a fuller and more widely diffused knowledge of his system will serve to retard rather than hasten an adoption of his views on the point alluded to. His belief in a future probation is based on philosophy more than upon the Scriptures, and some of his speculations connected with this subject will not command the ready assent of American theologians. Still his work as a whole must make a deep impression upon those who read it carefully, and it is to be hoped that it will find many such readers.

The work is the product of a profound and original thinker. The mind of Dr. Dorner has brooded over the problems of theology for decades of years. He has familiarized himself with thoughts that to

most men are beyond the range of their conceptions, and to most students of the Bible and of theology are but dimly defined if not altogether elusive. He speaks with entire confidence of things which are generally spoken of as surmises; the majority of thinkers would hardly venture to make God-consciousness and generic consciousness the foundation of a philosophical structure, yet these seem to be but common-place thoughts with him.

His work, however, presents such a consistency of part with part, and such a continuity of thought, that the careful reader will find something worthy of note in almost every paragraph. Many of his pages seem like the deeply shadowed picture of a great artist, which at first sight appears to be a blank, but which finally reveals to the careful, searching eye deep vistas and a wealth of living forms. It will be our purpose here to notice only a few of his theological teachings,—those being selected which will probably have a more immediate effect upon the sentiments of christian people.

Religion.

Dorner considers that *religion* consists in imparting and receiving a divine revelation.* But the revelation must be a disclosure of God Himself, not merely of higher, even of supernatural truths; and it must not consist simply in imparting a knowledge of God but must communicate a share in the divine life.† The revelation relates to man's nature as a whole, and so affects him by the bestowal of some-

*II., p. 114.

†II., p. 119.

thing new upon him, that the product is like a new creation. The religion which accomplishes this is Christianity, which is the absolute and perfect religion.†.

Heathen religions prepared the way for the perfect religion, produced many noble results, but never developed a perfect morality, never afforded a complete revelation. Christianity on the other hand presents God Himself to man. The Logos is ever the divine centre of the world, did not enter it abruptly when Christ appeared, but, after a series of revelations of various kinds, was finally made flesh and appeared in Jesus of Nazareth. "The religion whose centre is the absolute God-man, is the absolute one, or simply *the* religion that lasts forever."§ This incarnation was always possible, because of the affinity subsisting between God and man,|| but was not possible in the case of any individual until Jesus appeared; He was prepared the central receptivity of the Deity in the world. His organization and endowment fitted Him to be the proper agent in the divine manifestations.** His birth of a virgin harmonizes with the new creation in Him by which He became the second Adam, and was the fit method of the incarnation. Through the incarnation the world acquires a just idea of God. The christian view of His character gathers up all the scattered truths found in other religions, combines them harmoniously together, obviates any one-sidedness that might separate Him from the world, or con-

†II., p. 215.

||III., p. 285.

§II., p. 215.

**III., p. 295, 347.

found Him with the world, and affords the world a knowledge of the Being who is at once the God of love and the God of authority.††

Since the absolute and perfect religion is known only through the incarnation, the Word must have been made flesh if man had not sinned.‡‡ Sin is a subordinate incidental affair, while religion is a necessity for man, required by his nature; consequently God could not but make a revelation of himself that would afford an adequate religion. It is not to be understood that there was a physical necessity of the incarnation, but an ethical necessity.

God's love impelled him to this self-revelation. It is a postulate that his entering into humanity was an act of love, but an act that he could not fail to put forth, for love is his nature.§§ The Deity is subject to ethical law requiring the promotion of the good, and goodness,—inclination to promote the good,—is one of the definitions of God.

The question may be raised whether God might not in some other way have revealed Himself and have given the world the perfect religion, but such a question is to be dismissed without debate, for it transcends the region of human thought. Discussion of such a theme is based on merely arbitrary hypotheses and must be utterly futile.¶¶

It may be asked whether sin is not the occasion of the incarnation. The reply is: Sin affords new reasons for it, makes it necessary on new grounds, but does not furnish the primary reason for it. The

††II., p. 237, 281.

‡‡I., p. 178.

§§II., 217; III., p. 225.

incarnation has an essential place in an eternal scheme, sin appends itself as a subsequent fact to that scheme and cannot be the ground for an original constituent part of it. |||

Sin.

Dorner's view of sin differs in some respects from that entertained in this country by most theologians. He speaks of original sin, sin common to the race, personal sin, etc., yet he does not connect with the terms precisely the ideas that are commonly suggested by them. He teaches, indeed, that sin entered the world through Adam's disobedience, that, not by his creation but by his action, sin has become a state of mankind, so that all men are in need of redemption, being under the divine condemnation; yet he teaches, that the Old Testament does "not favor a rigid abstract doctrine of original sin," that according to its representations there were always two lines of descent from Adam, "one pious and good, another worldly and bad." Before Christ evil was not able to develop itself in its full power, its destructiveness was limited, men did not sink at once into the depth of iniquity. He teaches, however, that even the best of men in the Old Testament age were not exempt from sin, and hence all were under condemnation.*

He seems to substitute in place of the ordinary doctrine of original sin the idea of a sin of the race in which all partake. The Old Testament requires the punishment of the children with the fathers, de-

|||III., p. 141.

*II., p. 302.

clares that God will judge the children in accordance with the deeds of the fathers, holds the race responsible for the sins of the individual, and the individual for the sins of the race.* Thus it assumes the solidarity of the nation, of the race. So God judges that, not for Old Testament times only, but for all time, sin and guilt are universal and belong to the race as a whole. "The consequence of this from the divine standpoint is a universal condemnation extending to the whole of humanity, a condemnatory judgment on their state. In presence of this condemnation all stand in absolute need of redemption and atonement, and the distinctions of greater and less personal guilt in the subjects make no difference therein, because no one can acquit himself of joint responsibility for the common sin."† "All are infected by the sin of the race, which does not remain inoperative, and are laden with the common guilt, which neither in its origin nor growth springs from God, but from the subjective freedom and guilt, in which we are implicated as members of one family and by our own act.‡" We may make, indeed, personal efforts to be righteous notwithstanding inherited evil, but this could only be by penitence—an acknowledgement of our implication in the total sin of the race—which "does not wish to fancy itself better than Adam." "The isolation of the generic guilt would be a foolish abstraction as well as egotistical and untrue.¶ For we would be men, and yet we should place ourselves in thought outside the con-

*II., p. 325.

‡III., p. 67.

†IV., p. 96.

¶III., p. 57.

nection of the race, by which we exist, with claims inconsistent with our membership in the race."

It might be supposed that the connection of the race here implied would destroy personality, but Dorner considers that the recognition of common or joint sin rather intensifies than diminishes the personal consciousness of the individual. By the generic consciousness we make our own "the common joy and common honor of the race." Even the feelings in view of a common sin are not base, but "have a greatness in them, and are required by the nature of Christianity and love, which do not isolate themselves." He does not consider that our moral acts are to be looked upon as sinless because they are rendered unavoidable by connection with generic depravity. An unintended injurious act is sinful and punishable because of inherent indifference and torpor of the moral sense, though at the moment of its performance it might not have been "under the power of freedom." When the will is reduced to bondage we do not consider it innocent but utterly degraded. The christian consciousness is more stern in its judgments than the moral sense. We not only confess ourselves to be sinful in the deeds growing out of inherited evil, but sinful in the error of supposing that we could shake off evil and that it was, therefore, avoidable. "Human nature is so constituted, both that evil acts pass into evil inherency, which again is the cause of evil, and also in general that evil, when it once exists, becomes a cosmical causality among mankind, a factor in the system of the world, and the law of our nature, lying

at the basis of this result is part of the original perfection of its adaptation to that moral life, without which there could be no good being and no cosmical system of good."*

With the advance of religious knowledge and religious experience the knowledge of sin becomes more clear. Our striving after legal righteousness discloses our weakness, since we are continually defeated in our attempts to meet the demands of the law.† When we connect with our defects in righteousness the teachings of the New Testament, we see that the cause of our failures is in ourselves, that our own weakness represents the totality of our sinfulness, that, instead of a central force within ourselves competent to the discharge of our duties, there is a permanent incapacity to good works. The New Testament also teaches us that all men have fallen into the same degradation and helplessness, and that the race lies under condemnation. The whole race therefore needs help from without for its deliverance from the bondage of sin. A universal sinfulness and a universal liability to the consequences of guilt are the great facts descriptive of human nature. Though there are degrees of guilt among the different members of the human family, these are of little account before the great truth that all are alike in need of redemption. The great questions are, is there redemption for the race? and will men accept an offered redemption? So far as sin is concerned the question is, will men accept salvation? At this point Christianity introduces a

*II., p. 401 and onward.

†III., p. 68.

new estimate of sin! All previous sin can be forgiven, it can be massed together and offset by the atonement of Christ, but the rejection of the atonement is a sin which is unpardonable. This is designated the sin against the Holy Ghost,*—the only sin which is not forgiven either in this world or the next." "If the Holy Spirit, who takes of the things of Christ and brings Christ inwardly near to the heart is blasphemed, there is no more forgiveness." "For this sin, therefore, intercession is not to be made, for such intercession would depreciate grace and might be called a degrading of itself to deny its ethical character and legitimize unbelief."†

This unpardonable sin Dorner considers a purely personal sin. All other sins are involved in generic sin, this must from the nature of the case rest upon the individual alone. Christ represents the race and can atone for generic sin, as will be noticed hereafter, but an individual personal sin must rest upon its author. If any one, after forgiveness has been offered, after grace has released him from the power of temptation and restored to him his freedom, rejects the mercy bestowed through Christ, there can remain no more sacrifice for him, but "purely personal, damnable guilt is incurred by an act of self-condemnation." With this rejection a new kind of guilt arises, and with it all former sin, before forgiven for Christ's sake, revives, and the guilt of all rests upon the soul. "In the sin of definitive unbelief all sin and guilt first attains its unhappy culmination."‡

*III. p. 72.

†III. p. 73.

‡IV. p. 94 and onward.

Punishment.

Dorner's doctrine of punishment would be regarded by many as a somewhat stern one. He holds that the present life is one in which punishment is inflicted, that Christ found man suffering the penalty of sin. "Punitive justice certainly has a necessity, and the universality of sin, the common guilt, is associated with a universal state of punishment. This was manifested in great measure even in the pre-christian world. It lay in misery and ruin, in outward and inward decay, far more than it knew. Side by side with the fear of death, the wish never to have been born spread, so that death was esteemed the highest good. Thus the feeling of misery dominated even to despair, and there was therein a real revelation of the divine justice."† Justice he describes as the divine self-preservation, and the negative side of love. When God's creatures oppose Him in the exercise of their freedom, refuse to coincide with His plans, and pursue ends that would thwart his designs, His love becomes self-love, and he is under the necessity, both of resisting evil designs and of vindicating his authority. His love then becomes punitive justice. His anger is then directed, not against the sin of the person who opposes Him, but against the sinner, the relation is that of one person towards another. The punishment inflicted upon the wrong doer is not retaliation, God has no pleasure in the pain of the sufferer; it is not inflicted for the purpose of securing the reform of the wrong doer, the right to inflict punishment is

†III. p. 133.

not based on the uncertain results of the punishment; it is not inflicted for the sake of deterring others from crime, or the result rising from fear of punishment is not that which God desires, but the punishment is inflicted as a good in itself, a satisfaction to the justice of God. A criminal must not only make material restitution for any damage he has caused, but is also "answerable for an atonement to justice." Justice demands a proportioned relation between worth and well-being and therefore demands that restraint and suffering be put upon a lawless will.*

The God-man.

Dr. Dorner looks upon Christ, the God-man, as the embodiment and realization of Christianity. Other founders of religious systems are referred to as expounders of their systems, but Christ is a constituent of His system.† Religion is imparting and receiving a revelation from God. Christ both imparts and receives; Jesus is the human receptiveness of the Logos, and the person consisting of the divine and the human is the revelation given and received. The life, the truth, the ideal of human existence are made a historic fact in Christ. By Him there is introduced into the world a new centre around which humanity may gather, in union with which it may receive new life, conformed to which it may be organized into a new kingdom,—the kingdom of God, of which the Church is the present manifestation.‡ The divine and human are not

*L, 293 and onward, 457.

†L, 47.

‡L, 49.

"foreign and self-exclusive," but God has a predisposition to incarnation and the human affords the fit means for its realization. God and man differ in *ascity*,—self-existence,—but naturally enter into communion, and the human may be raised to unity with the divine, as was the fact in the person of Christ.‡ The God-man is therefore the perfecter of the creation, its goal is reached in Him, and He is the second Adam. As Adam was the "physical archetype of man," Christ is "the pneumatic archetypal man, the heart and head of humanity in the spiritual sphere." "Agreeably, therefore, to the *Unio* with the Logos, the universal principle of light and life, He is in historical human form the fountain-head of all the pneumatic life of humanity, for which the highest and finest moral relations, such as prince, father, mother, eldest brother, friend, bridegroom, are used as emblems."§

While men are thus capable of communion with God and are participants in the divine nature, they have fallen away from him and have become alienated in heart from the centre of their individual and generic life. The race is in danger of falling apart into scattered fragments, a wreck, its aims and promise defeated. Christ as the perfecter of creation becomes, in this peril, the fit redeemer. He becomes a determining power for all; the principal or central beginning of a new humanity is found in him,—a humanity born of the heart, and thus he becomes a power of union for those drifting from God, the true source of their life. He is "willing

‡III., 306. § p. 321 and onward.

to cause the powers of his entire theanthropic personality to stream into his members." "We need the one undivided Lord, in whom as the God-man all antitheses have their living bond of union. But in us the antitheses—highest of all, nature and spirit—are still outside, nay, opposed to each other, and will remain so, unless the uniting potency—that is the power of the perfected God-man—becomes the possession of those, who, born of God, are brethren of Christ and sons of God."||

The effect which Christ's appearance in the flesh has, is reconciliation of humanity to God, or rather, He enables humanity to make reconciliation.

The anger of God was just and necessary, and an expiation to him was necessary. Man was wholly unable to furnish an expiation, but Christ becoming man supplied the lacking power. Humanity by a miracle of divine love is enabled to present to God an atonement for sin. God sees in the life and death of Christ a punishment of sin which is a satisfaction to divine justice. The world through Christ acquires the ability to reconcile God, to become holy, and to perfect itself. Christianity becomes the channel of power and life to the world since it "contains in itself the power of atonement, redemption, and perfection." This effect of Christ's work is symbolized in the eucharist. "The Holy supper is therefore the meal of Christ's personal communion with believers, whom in the farewell discourses he therefore calls his friends, as similarly the figure of the bridegroom and bride or husband and wife denotes a *mutual* life in each other."¶

||III., 321, and onward.

¶ IV., p. 313.

The effect of Christ's work upon the individual corresponds to, or rather prepares for, that upon the world. When we become attached to him by faith we become ourselves new creatures, we know God not simply as an object of knowledge but by a consciousness of His existence such that we have a new consciousness of our own existence. We apprehend ourselves in Him as we are also apprehended of Him. We see ourselves to be objects of His eternal love. In such a connection with God we also have a new view of the world. "The natural world is no longer the true world. It would be dead and soulless but for the spirit from above who energizes it, and makes it a symbol and organ of the divine." On the individual's assent God communicates to him divine life, the assent is a sense of absolute dependence upon Him, the dependence is equivalent to a surrender of heart, soul and strength to God, by which the soul is united to God in faith. By faith the individual is "plunged, so to speak, into the sacred depths of vital powers possessed of creative force, into the love of one who, belonging to the human genus and concentrating its powers in himself, is mighty to save us and to originate a new life in us."**

In the sinner's conversion to God, grace begins the process; first there is an awakening of the conscience, a grace leading toward regeneration; then follows grace which is a counterpoise to the temptations of sin, and restores the soul to the exercise of its powers; and then in the enjoyment of the free-

**IV., p. 94.

dom thus bestowed upon it,—a freedom involving a consciousness of what Christianity is—the soul makes its choice for or against the offered salvation.††

Such individual effects are produced for the sake of a higher purpose, viz: the organization of individuals into a christian commonwealth. On all important occasions in the spiritual realm the consciousness of the race receives an impetus, "this holds good of religion in an eminent degree." Constituted of God a member of an organism, man only answers to his reality when he makes the interests of the race his own."

Atonement.

Dorner holds firmly to the need of an atonement for sin. He teaches that the wrath of God against all sin makes expiation necessary for every individual of the race, except the God-man. He rejects the view entertained by Ritschl, that God's anger is directed only towards the sin against the Holy Ghost, and that God simply waits for man to return to him; on the other hand he holds that every sin is punishable,* that every one needs to be forgiven before he can be on terms of peace with his divine Judge. Moreover, God cannot forgive sin off-hand, as some of the Middle Age theologians taught,† but he must have a ground of forgiveness, he can be reconciled to the sinner only because of a propitiation. God's omnipotence is not severed from his ethical essence, and He can not will a thing simply because He has

††IV., p. 179.

*III., p. 425.

†IV., p. 82.

power and freedom, His holy essence is a living law for the exercise of His power. As the Guardian of public order He cannot pardon transgressions of law arbitrarily; this would be a subversion of His system and work its dissolution. God's love is no such effusive sentiment that it can spring over all barriers and embrace the sinner as a child, to be made happy at any cost. The physical well-being of the guilty is not a good to be secured at the sacrifice of the ethical interests of the universe. God must, therefore, look with displeasure upon the sinner, and satisfaction to His justice is the condition of reconciliation between God and man.*

Man has no power to render to God the satisfaction which must precede reconciliation. Peace is not secured by an attempted amendment of life on man's part, and an attempted renewal of communion with his Maker. His conscience would still condemn him, he would not have peace with himself; justice would still condemn him, therefore, God must in some way be propitiated. This propitiation must come from without, and man is, therefore, wholly dependent on prevenient grace.

The propitiation for sin, coming from without, is Jesus Christ. By His suffering and death, as a substitute for the sinner, He placates the wrath of God and secures forgiveness for sin—all sin except that against the Holy Ghost. This suffering, however, must be endured on Christ's part, not simply as sympathy with men, but as a penal infliction due to sin. "In order to the restoration of God's spontaneous communion with sinners, and to the fresh

* III., 427.

bestowal of his favor, besides suffering, this is necessary, that Christ, in the suffering coming to Him as mediator through the injustice of men, *honor* and *acknowledge* God's justice in His judicial displeasure at sin, and submit to the feeling of that just displeasure; and this in a new and broader act, including not merely willingness to endure outward sufferings, but to descend for the sake of a sinful world to the feeling of just subjection to punishment."* Dorner emphasizes specially the spiritual sufferings of Christ. The exceeding sinfulness of sin is only comprehensible by the soul, and the soul only can feel the just displeasure of God against sin. The importance of holding to the true manhood of Christ, His being possessed of a human soul is obvious here, for only with such a constitution of His being could He feel adequately the divine wrath and confess its justice.*

Christ's sufferings were at first the result of his sympathy with men. He found them as sheep without a shepherd, subject to hostile powers, beset with grievous ills, and His fellowship with them made Him a man of sorrows. But at the close of His life, Jew and Gentile combined to oppose the just and holy One whose very existence was a condemnation of their lives. Then the hate and falsehood of a sinning world manifested its hostility to Him in plotting and accomplishing His death. When the world thus opposed Him He passed from suffering *with* the world to suffering *for* it, and became the high priest of the human race. In Gethsemane and on Calvary He

*IV., pp. 31, 32.

offered the atoning sacrifice by which propitiation for sin is made.* But in thus making the salvation of men possible he also brings on the crisis of the world. Every one must see in Him the manifestation of the sin of the world, a sinfulness irreconcilably at war with Christ. Every one must for this reason make choice either to accept Christ and condemn self, or to justify self and condemn Christ. This is the final test of character, and makes possible the unpardonable sin, the conscious and purposed rejection of Christ.†

Christ makes atonement for the sins of men not by the amount of his sufferings, but by their value as the sufferings of a person of infinite dignity. "Christ's merit is not to be measured by weight and number, because it is a potency intensively infinite, equal to the guilt incurred by the violation and rejection of an infinite good. But Christ's sufferings owe their intensive import to the fact that they are not merely physical, but *spiritual* sufferings, sufferings of his divine-human person." This view Dörner calls the dynamical conception of Christ's merit, and says that the same intensive or dynamical method or estimation must be applied to guilt and punishment, i. e., the guilt and punishment belonging to men because of sin.‡ We are not to conceive of Christ as at any time being personally under the wrath of God. The Father always loves the Son, and in part because of the suffering to which He subjects Himself. But God saw in Him the human race embodied in its essence, and in Him, therefore, the

*IV., p. 112, 113.

†III., p. 71.

‡IV., p. 30.

race suffered punishment and made atonement before God. This atonement must be of avail for it springs out of divine love, and justice, while its claims must be satisfied, cannot be at war with love. The race, therefore, in Christ is enabled to atone for its sin. It is from the time of Christ's death, no longer, a race resting under the curse of God, but a race that has rendered Him satisfaction for its guilt. Hence the race is no more to be conceived of apart from Christ, humanity is inseparable from Him and He from it." From its own midst it presents to God and His justice the expiating, satisfying Man—its Head. "God, himself, can no longer view the race to which Christ with His merit and historical power over it belongs, without Him."*

The result of this work of Christ is this: forgiveness of sin has been secured, the world is pardoned, an adequate atonement has been made and accepted and the race is looked upon with favor. Atonement and justification must be considered independently of each other. Justification requires an act of freedom on the part of the individual, and no one receives the benefit of the atonement personally 'till he puts forth this act which is faith, but independently of the personal act the race, because of the atonement, is forgiven, its sins are cancelled, man now has simply to appropriate the pardon.‡ If he rejects it, however, he incurs the guilt of this crucial and unpardonable sin, and draws upon himself the guilt which had been cancelled for Christ's sake. The atonement thus meets all race sin, all sin common

*IV., p. 117, 118.

‡IV., p. 214.

to humanity, all sin that rises from the temptations incident to human life. The guilt that springs from the corrupt generic life is offset by the punishment suffered by our substitute, more accurately our Head, Jesus Christ. Our Lord taking this position becomes "the personal righteousness of our race, the efficient creative principle of a new humanity."*

Election, Continued Probation.

As has been already noticed in the remarks on justification, the salvation of the individual is connected with his own act. His race sin is pardoned, but he must avail himself of the pardon or incur the guilt of rejected pardon. Yet the time for putting forth the decisive act is not of his own choosing. "The transference of the blessing or merit acquired by Christ to the unredeemed world, and its right distribution or application to individuals, only takes place through their reception into His personal fellowship, which neither can nor ought to take place through any other power than His own." Christ in the exercise of His power of applying His redemption to the individual may call one earlier another later, one in this world another in the future life. "Despite the universalism of the Christian salvation, a place is still left to election, to distinctions of earlier and later in that effectual calling, through which actual participation in the blessing of grace is first brought about." Still the offers of salvation are at some time made to all. "The absoluteness of

*IV., p. 215, 98, 229,

Christianity demands that no one be judged before Christianity has been made accessible and brought home to him." No one comes to a real knowledge of himself till he knows what is offered him in Christ, and no one can make the decision that fixes his destiny, that is worthy to fix his destiny, till he has been called upon to accept or reject the atonement effected by the Head of the race.*

Inasmuch as millions go from the world without any knowledge of Christ—the heathen, infants, many adults from the Christian world without any adequate knowledge of Christ, it follows that the gospel must be preached to them in another world. Probation must extend to the intermediate state, and the offer of salvation be made to the spirits of the dead awaiting the judgment. "That there is room for changes even in the next world follows in reference to those who die in faith, from the doctrine of their resurrection. Still more important must be the changes possible in a middle state in the next world in relation to those who in this life have not become ripe for judgment." The divine government will not bear the fault of continuance in sin on the part of men.† "The gospel will be brought decisively home to all who did not in this world come to a definitive decision, and all who do not shut themselves thereto will be saved." Christ's descent into Hades was not of necessity, was not in fulfillment of his priestly office, but a part of His prophetic work. He went there to preach to the spirits in prison, presenting Himself as the efficient cause of salvation.‡

*IV., 164, 184, 285.

†IV., 407-414.

‡IV., 128-132.

Those who reject Christ finally can never be saved, they reject the only salvation. This sin, since it is a new act of freedom, cannot be connected with the sin of the race, and has, therefore, received no atonement; it must rest upon the one who commits it. Since this final presentation of Christ is the peculiar work of the Holy Spirit, this is the sin against the Holy Ghost.

Dr. Dorner seems not absolutely sure that the suffering of the wicked will be endless. He suggests that, as sin diminishes the power of life, as godlessness is a movement towards non-existence, the wicked may finally fade from existence. He also suggests that those utterly and finally doomed to have no part in Christ's salvation may cease to be human beings while they live. They can not be utterly doomed so long as they are possessed of free will, for their repentance and return to God are still possible. When return to God is no longer possible they are therefore without freedom, and if without freedom they are not human, for this is a distinctive attribute of our humanity.*

Comments upon Dorner's System.

The influence of Dorner upon the theological thinking of this country is already quite widely felt. His views have been adopted to some extent by students who have attended his lectures or have in other ways become aware of his distinctive sentiments. But it can hardly be possible that the theological views of our own denomination will soon

*IV., 84, 426.

give way to those here presented. New England speculations have been founded on a wholly different basis from that assumed by the German Professor.

He assumes a kind of realistic philosophy, perhaps it may be called a Hegelian scheme of thought, as the foundation of his system, which is alien to the methods of thought among the American theologians of former days. He considers God and man essentially one in kind or in substance, the real difference between them being that to God belongs self-existence.* Man, however, is not to be regarded as simply existing on earth from the date of his birth, but he belongs to Deity, only recognizes himself when he connects himself with God, is conscious of self only as he is conscious of God as the condition of self-consciousness.† In a true and adequate self-knowledge he knows, as it were, his own pre-existence in God. Our knowledge of nature also depends on the unity of all substances. Matter is thought and for this reason cognizable. It is known not simply through the laws to which it is subject, but in itself, as a mass, or as a complex of forces, it has a share in rationality, and because of this we apprehend it. "Nature is designed for spirit, and in virtue of the secret bond subsisting between the two, the elements, such as light, fire, lightning, storm, wind, have capacity for symbolizing the spiritual."‡ From such a scheme of metaphysics follow, of course, such maxims as the following, which lie at the foundation of the Dorner system: 'We know

*III., 306.

†II., 82, 122.

‡II., 69.

God through God,' 'we know ourselves through God,' 'religion is communion with God,' 'religious certainty is the foundation of all certainty,' 'our evidence of the truth of Christianity is not derived from history but from our own experience.' These statements are not copied from his writings, but are substantially such as may be found in the work before us. It is clear also that the scheme of Christianity here presented is formed on the model of the scheme of metaphysics. The Logos reveals himself more and more and finally is incarnate in Jesus. The God-man is humanity, what he does humanity does, whatever change in religious traits comes over individuals is a change rising from the new human force infused into the race in Christ. Men had individualized themselves too much, were in danger of becoming a rope of sand, by a restoration to fuller life by the God-man the solidarity of the race is restored and men are saved.

Dorner's views are widely separated from those of the Hopkinsians on the personal character of sin. It is an axiom with New England theologians that all sin consists in sinning. One derives no guilt from his connection with the race, original sin is not sin in the proper sense of the word. All that can merit punishment is conduct having its source in the will of the person. To say that one is guilty for the deeds of another, or that there is a common stock of guilt in which different persons have a share, is simple nonsense according to the teachings of the successors of Edwards. But the entire scheme of salvation, according to Dorner, depends on the truth of the positions here rejected. The person, in his view,

nowhere appears as an independent agent left to his own responsibility until he, in the exercise of freedom, decides whether or not to ally himself with Christ. If he accept Christ he becomes a part of the mass of redeemed humanity, if he reject him, he becomes a segregated atom of humanity, his former sins with their guilt attach themselves to him and he is a helpless wreck, alienated from humanity and unpardonable. To adopt such views would revolutionize the entire scheme of sin and virtue in New England theology. *That* is founded on the personal character of the moral agent, and his consequent personal responsibility. To sustain this scheme the doctrines of natural ability and moral inability, of the power of contrary choice and the certain results of motives, have been inculcated. The entire nomenclature of the "new theology" of the early part of the century is a protest against Dornerism.

The views of Congregationalists as to the change effected by regeneration are not easily reconciled with those of Dorner on that topic.

The former hold that in conversion the sinner is changed in heart, or in the affections and ruling purposes of the soul. The regenerate man is identical with himself as he existed before regeneration, having no new powers conferred by the change. He simply desires to promote, and devotes himself to promoting, new purposes, these culminating in the glory of God. This change is wrought by the spirit of God in the exercise of almighty power. Yet the change is so wrought that the regenerate man is convinced of sin, renounces error often, practically em-

braces truth always, and directs his energies purposely to the promotion of new ends. Dr. Dorner does not teach a renewing transforming power of the Holy Spirit, does not teach a change of purpose and a sense of duty prompting to the service of God, but simply a new force entering into the life which results in a new development of character. Every sinner is in a saved state already, and will realize his salvation in due time, if he do not reject Christ, and this state of salvation is simply that of pardon, not a renewing of mind, not a devotion of powers to God, not a citizenship in heaven, but simply a capacity at some future time to accept the pardon of sin. The ethical results looked for as flowing from these two kinds of conversion are widely different.

The godliness sought for by the New England theology is a thorough performance of earthly duties, an acceptance of the obligations imposed by the relations of life and a meeting of them with the spirit of a servant set to do a work. The godliness sought for by the German theology is the life developed in humanity after Christ has been accepted as revealed in it. Duties are not seen and performed, but humanity possessed of divinity works out ethics through the propulsion of its internal forces.

Dr. Dorner does not agree with the New England theologians as to the effect of grace. He holds as firmly as possible to prevenient grace, considers it indispensable to reconciliation with God, and holds to an election of the individual by Jesus Christ. But the election is only of the time when each one shall be brought to the crisis of accepting or rejecting salvation; and the prevenient grace only pre-

pare for one the opportunity of accepting or rejecting it. Man is involved in race sin and is in bondage, he sins by even supposing that he is free, but grace sets at naught temptations, bestows freedom, and gives one the opportunity of choosing for himself what course he will take. This latter view, holding the sinful tendency in check, while one makes a choice in reference to the service of God, bears some resemblance to the view of Dr. N. W. Taylor concerning the work of the Spirit in conversion. But the resemblance is apparent rather than real. And the view of Dr. Taylor has not been extensively adopted in the New England churches. It is held among them that the Spirit of God works directly upon the heart of the sinner and changes it. There may indeed be a preceding influence turning the thoughts to the state of sin and to the offer of pardon, but these are not, as Dorner makes them, constituent parts of converting or renewing grace. The regenerating act on the other hand is a purposed effect by the Spirit who works in the heart of man to do as He will.

Dorner differs also from New England divines on the susceptibility of man to grace. They hold that no one is beyond the reach of God's power, and that it would be no more impossible to convert the worst man than the one nearest the Kingdom of God. They make nothing of the fixing of character as ending probation. They hold that the character of every sinner is fixed, that the heart of every one is fully set to do evil, and that in conversion the Holy Spirit saves a man from himself, breaks down his fixed character, and gives him a new heart.

CHAPTER III.

RELIGION AS A PHILOSOPHY.*

There are certain other influences deserving notice, which are affecting in some degree the current views of theology. There is not space in the present article to speak of them in detail, but there is a certain philosophizing upon religion in this and other countries to which reference may be made. This method of treating theological topics is adopted by persons who differ widely as to their views upon certain doctrines, as, for example, the person and work of Christ, but who are exerting very similar influences upon the religious community. The influences themselves are often of an indefinable character, and those who feel them may not in all cases be aware of the source from which they come.

It will be generally admitted that man embraces religion, values and cherishes it, because he has a nature adapted to it. Any changes which it effects in him must be in accord with his nature. He does not lose his identity nor his essential human traits

*In the remarks upon this topic a few expressions from Mulford's *Republic of God* are referred to, many expressions and statements which I can not now trace to their source are in mind, and especially the speculative portion of *Biedermann's christliche Dogmatik* is alluded to. Since there is here no criticism of particular statements further references are omitted, except in a few instances of quotation.

by any results which religion is able to accomplish. Of course, if we understand man's nature thoroughly, can see for what it is intended and in what it is defective, we can also see what modifications of character are needed, and can, if we are able to estimate rightly the forces of religion, understand how far it will produce the desired modifications. Though we may not be able fully to comprehend its power, we can yet determine what kind of effect it must produce, and determine the limitations to which it must be subjected. Thus religion is considered by certain speculative minds as subject to nature in its effects, and, as an object of knowledge, is held to be subordinate to philosophy. There may be connected with it truths beyond our comprehension, but its effect in the world and its aim in addressing us are within our comprehension, and are subject to our judgment. We can point out the defects of the various views of religion which have been adopted by its devotees, we can determine what it may do, how far it may be approved, and where its influence must be suppressed. A sound philosophy aids us to give to the intense but superstitious religions of the heathen their proper place, the proper place to Christianity with its new manifestations in Jesus of Nazareth, to point out the delusions of the mystic and the fanatic, the folly of the enthusiast and the revivalist.

A philosophical view of *religion* of course accepts the fact of Christ's appearance on earth and of His remarkable power, however it may be explained. A rejection of Him would imply skepti-

cism, not a philosophy of religion, but philosophy without religion,—in opposition to it. It is assumed that Christ is the goal of humanity. Whatever humanity can be in the fulfillment of its proper aim is realized in Him, all that other men are striving for, blindly longing for, is to be found in Him. He is the Christ of humanity, and others rise towards perfection in proportion as they partake of Him. He may be looked upon as a person, one with men, realizing humanity to the full, or He may be considered the absolute spirit working in Jesus of Nazareth without impediment, working in a receptacle perfectly fitted to its operations. Whatever may be thought of the nature and character of the Christ, this is to be affirmed of Him, He rises above nature and acts in perfect freedom. He is not subject to the law of cause and effect, a law that is dominant in nature and brings into bondage all that are controlled by it, but is self-determined, is Himself the source of, or master of, the motives by which He acts. His life is therefore a purely ethical life, or one having the good as its aim, and the means used in promotion of the aim those wholly of kin to the aim itself

Participation in the life of Christ is religion, or communion with God through Christ is religion. Man attains the perfection of his being, lives the ethical, the religious life, when he is delivered from bondage to nature, to the law of cause and effect, and acts in freedom as Christ does. In such a life he becomes thoroughly vital and spiritual, by it sin is eradicated, sin being a weakness, an infirmity, a

diminution of life. Sin is subjection to nature, obedience to unspiritual laws, subservience to fallacious and delusive ideas. In wandering after them the soul may be lost, its only salvation is deliverance from them, alliance with the truth, freedom of action. This is its redemption. Atonement is the reconciliation of God and man. Christ's sacerdotal work was the effecting of this reconciliation, and he accomplished it by results produced in men. The view that justice is to be placated before God can look upon men with favor is simply theoretical, an array of abstractions; religion deals with the concrete, has to do with realities. Christ appears and fights sin, all sin, sin at its worst, and overcomes it. In this he reconciles humanity to God. He overcame the contradiction between man's natural state and his designed state—the state which God appointed for him—and since the work of the Christ man has been at one with God. Not all of humanity is thus reconciled to God, it is true, but in Christ humanity has broken through its restraints imposed by sin, has entered into freedom and atoned for itself. So far as men can participate in this victory over sin and enter into communion with God, they are reconciled and enter on the new eternal life. Christ's death and victory over death are the common property of the race, any one who can now imitate Christ's example, resist sin, act in freedom, and live the spiritual life, partakes of redemption. And men are able to do this by the Spirit. The Spirit actuates them so that they live the life above nature, a life in sympathy with Christ. The Spirit may be the absolute spirit

working in humanity, and coming more and more into the realization of victory over nature, or may be God in his love working with purposes of kindness to men; but in any case it is the divine power manifesting itself in humanity and carrying forward its redemption. Reconciliation with God is effected by each man as his own work, and in this view one must save himself, and yet the efficient cause in the struggle that overcomes the barriers and leads to the life of freedom is not self but the spirit that Christ has given to the world. Hence the atonement notwithstanding any individual effort is effected by vicarious sacrifice. And as Christ by suffering for others overcame the evils that beset humanity and leads the individuals of the race to overcome, so we can suffer for others and lead them to overcome. Entering ourselves into Christ's conflict and victory we can overcome not only for ourselves but for our fellow men; not indeed without their co-operation, but with them, for them, if they enter into sympathy with us. The soldier by his patriotism and self-sacrifice elevates the moral tone of the national life and the nation is raised to a higher position by his vicarious sacrifice, though only those individuals are benefited who sympathise with him; so Christ and his followers elevate the general life of humanity by vicarious sacrifice, but only those persons derive advantage from it who partake of the elevated life.

It may seem that only a few are really benefited by this salvation through Christ, since only a few really sympathize with him, commune with him in

the higher life. But it should be remembered that this life is only the beginning of an existence. Man is subject to no irrevocable doom, he must remain capable of freedom so long as he is a man. The new life which the Christ has introduced into humanity is a permanent, an eternal thing, and in the ages to come men will sooner or later feel its power. The spirit of Christ will work more and more extensively as time goes on, and men will finally be brought to accept the life that is in him. It is not to be affirmed that all will, but all *may* be saved. On the other hand it may be, that some will never extricate themselves from the bewilderments and debasements of a life of sin. But, whatever the results may be, the love of God is invincible, it is at the foundation of redemption, and that love will abide the same forever.

It is obvious that atonement, being reconciliation with God, and that simply by a subjective change in man, is, according to this scheme, the same as regeneration, and the same as sanctification; all these terms designate the new life of freedom above nature and in communion with God.

It will be of interest to notice Biedermann's description of the Christian ideas conceived of in accord with the scheme of doctrine just noticed.

"The process of salvation in the natural finitely spiritual ego of man goes forward in this way; the saving principle, the absoluteness of the spirit, manifests itself in his self-consciousness as the effective power of his self-determination." "This *actus purus*

of the absolute spirit in the natural ego the church-doctrine rightly designates *grace*.*

"*The external call* is the impelling forces of the naturally mediated self-manifestation of the absolute spirit in the natural and moral world which precede the elevation of the individual natural ego to free self-determination as spirit and form the naturally mediating conditions for the same."†

"The self-manifestations of the absolute spirit which induce in the subjective spirit-life of the natural ego the act of spiritual self-determination are *the internal call*."‡

"*True repentance* consists in the appropriate willingness to suffer what sin deserves according to God's moral order of the world, and the appropriate willingness to make good any injury that has been inflicted."||

"*The faith* by which man appropriates the principle of salvation is an act of the ego, but the ego is capable of this act only through the potency of the absoluteness of the spirit immanent in it, which manifests itself present and effective in the ego in that act."§

"*The forgiveness of sin* is the effect of divine grace in the energizing of human freedom."††

"The idea of *the second birth* designates the issue-point of the true spirit-life in the ego over against the preceding natural spirit-life."‡‡

The views just presented may affect some active speculative minds, and through them indirectly some

* *Christliche Dogmatik*, p. 710. † p. 711. ‡ p. 711.

|| p. 715. § p. 718. †† p. 720. ‡‡ p. 722.

who will not become acquainted with the views themselves. But they will not at present extensively affect the sentiments of ordinary church members. They have a gnosticizing air that will repel those who believe in revivals of religion. There is a lack of personal communion with Christ, a lack of tender penitence for sin, a lack of the internal gratitude for undeserved mercy that will make this philosophical religion seem cold and repulsive. The scheme requires such careful thought, such discrimination concerning the finite and the absolute, that it will not be soon accepted as the gospel which is to be preached to the poor.



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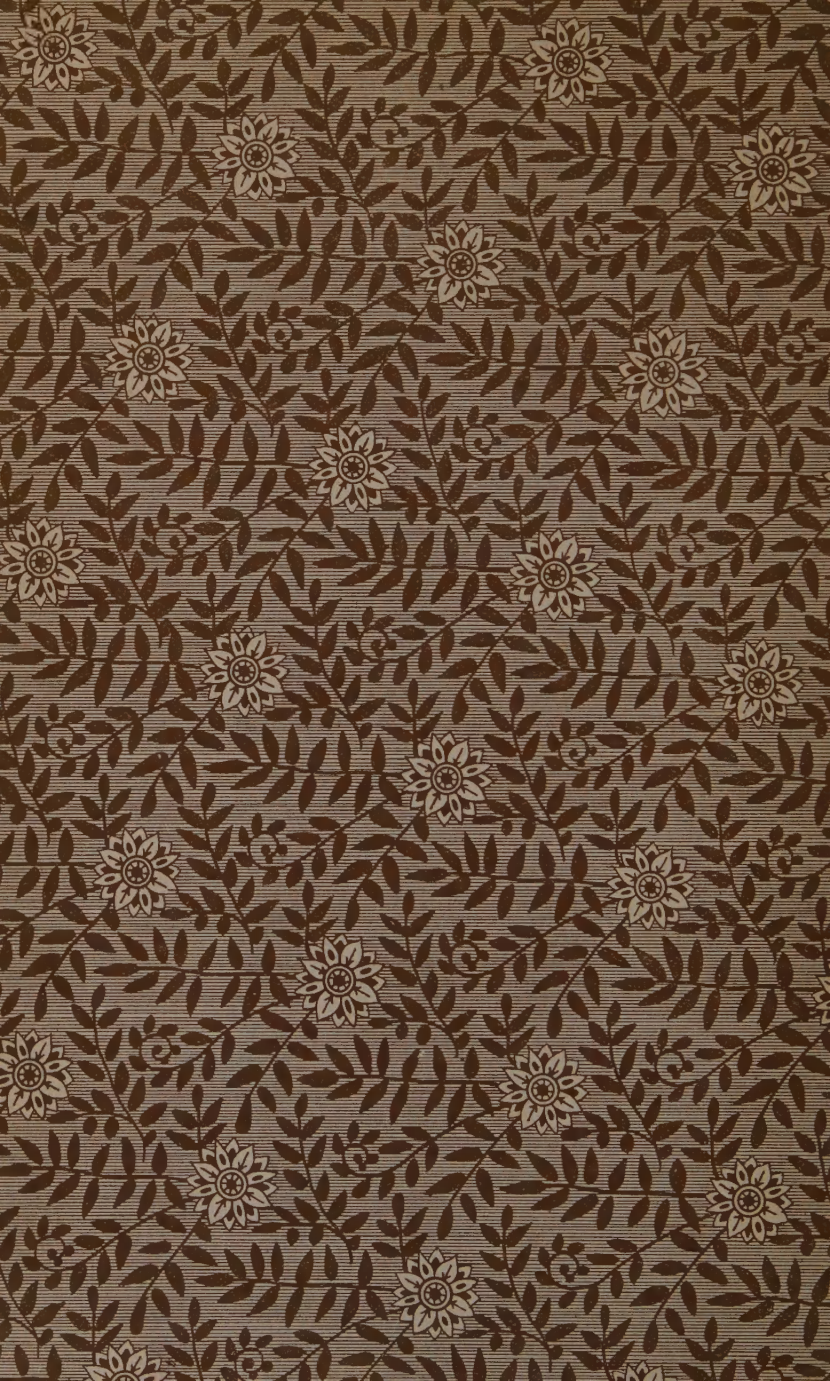
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